

The History Teacher's Magazine

EDITED IN CO-OPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE AND UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF A COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. ALBERT E. MCKINLEY, MANAGING EDITOR

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The Magazine in 1918-1919

The plans for THE HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE issues of next fall and winter are now well under way. They include, of course, the *continuation of the features* which have made the Magazine so helpful to history teachers during its nine years of publication. Practical suggestions for class-work, arrangement of historical lessons, accounts of suggestive experiments, news items of historical associations, and the various bibliographical aids will be included in each number.

In addition, it is hoped to make the Magazine of still greater usefulness *by closely associating the work of the history teacher with the present world situation*. Articles by well-known historians and economists will deal with the political and economic background of the world war, treating such topics as the governments of Europe, the growth of the British Empire, the historical development of the Near East, the problems of the Far East, the study of Latin-American history, and the relation of trade and industry to history. An extended review will be given each month of some important historical publication. Occasional supplements will be printed, giving documents not readily available, and from time to time interpretations of recent world events from the pens of trained observers, will be included.

In spite of rising costs of manufacture and increased postal rates, *subscriptions will still be accepted at the old rates*: Two dollars a year (nine numbers); with a reduced rate of one dollar to members of the American Historical Association and to members of local and regional associations of history teachers.

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- IV. The Geography of the War, by PROFS. S. B. HARDING and W. E. LINGELBACH.
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The co-operation of the National Board for Historical Service with the management of the MAGAZINE has become so close during the past year that the editors have deemed it fitting to express the relationship in a more public manner than heretofore followed. Accordingly, beginning with this issue the name of the Board will appear upon the title page of the paper. This action is taken with the consent, but not upon the request, of the Board. It is an act of justice, indicating only in a slight degree the indebtedness of the editors and readers of the MAGAZINE to the body of unselfish historical scholars composing the Board and its co-operating committees.

The articles contributed to the present issue through the activities of the National Board for Historical Service are Professor Read's upon "England at War," Professor Lingelbach's upon the "Russian Revolution and the War," Professor Paxson's on "The Spirit of Present History," Professor Anderson's review of Hazen's "Alsace-Lorraine Under German Rule," and Dr. Leland's on "French Documents."

A New England Group of Historians has been formed under the chairmanship of Professor Arthur I. Andrews, of Tufts College, Mass., to provide lectures during the coming summer at hotels, summer resorts, educational gatherings, and general meetings of associations. The members of the Group have prepared a series of lectures upon a number of topics connected with the war, and are ready to deliver these at points where an audience can be obtained. Correspondence concerning the matter should be addressed to Professor Andrews.

In the MAGAZINE for May an error was made in the statement that Mr. Thomas W. Marshall, of the University of Idaho, would give courses in the Summer School of the University of Colorado. Mr. Marshall is Assistant Professor in the University of Colorado.

The Council of the American Historical Association has voted in favor of holding the regular annual meeting of the Association at Cleveland, O., during the last days of December, 1918. The American Economic Association and the American Political Science Association will meet in Cleveland at the same time. This action of the Council is taken with the understanding that the call for the meeting may be revoked later if extraordinary and unforeseen emergencies arise.

We are living in an age of changing opinions upon many of the great questions of society. With reorganization inevitable in the economic, political, social and religious phases of our life, it cannot be hoped that the attitude toward the historical past will remain unchanged. Our old points of emphasis and many of the fixed interpretations of the past will need reconsideration in the light of the present. Despotisms and military castes, for instance, will fall in our estimation, while a deeper appreciation of popular government, and a keener interest in its history will be among the results of the world struggle. The history teacher needs to be alert to these new demands, but cautious that historical truth and perspective are not sacrificed.

The editors of the MAGAZINE, in consultation with the National Board for Historical Service, are planning several series of articles for the year 1918-1919, the purpose of which is to show how the facts of history make possible a better understanding of the present. These articles will be prepared as aids to the teacher of history in the presentation of his subject in the class-room or to his community. They will also, like many of the articles printed in this and previous issues, be of interest to the general reading public. Probably there never was a time in the history of our country when such a large proportion of thinking men and women were looking at the events of to-day from an historical standpoint. It is the duty of the historical scholar and the history teacher to guide this natural tendency into proper channels; to furnish the facts upon which true judgments may be made; and to prevent the perversion of historical facts for propagandist purposes. The management of the MAGAZINE hopes that the paper may thus serve not only its present constituency, but that it may also have a guiding influence upon general sentiment.

The National Board for Historical Service will be very much pleased to place at the disposal of directors of summer schools the information which it has in its possession about historical scholars who are prepared to speak authoritatively on various topics connected with the war and its historical background. A considerable number of the best known scholars and writers of history have expressed their willingness to render service of this kind, and it is believed that many institutions will be glad to take advantage of this opportunity. Inquiries should be addressed to the National Board for Historical Service, 1133 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

The Russian Revolution and the War

BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The irony of fate has decreed that Russia, the first of the allied countries to engage in the great war, should also be the first to withdraw from it. She entered the struggle as an imperialistic autocracy, and emerged as a proletarian republic. Demoralized Bolshevik Russia has pushed aside despotic Romanof Russia; abandoned the cause of the allies, and concluded a separate peace. For the time being, the Russian seems to have lost his power to think and act in terms of nationalism. International relations have been relegated to the background, while the question of land distribution, control of the means of production, and rule by the masses have usurped the stage. In the midst of the greatest war of history the Russians have turned aside to problems of political and social reconstruction and the pursuit of a visionary "internationalism." This defection is not only entailing enormous additional sacrifices in the struggle against the menace of Prussian militarism, but causing an unexpected prolongation of the war through the opening up of opportunities for the economic recuperation of the Central Powers in eastern Europe.

Determined to protect Serbia from becoming a vassal of Austria-Hungary, Russia insisted on a revision of the terms of the Austrian ultimatum of July, 1914. She refused to accept Germany's subtle suggestion that the Serbian question be localized, and boldly announced it to be impossible, both politically and morally, for Russia to allow Serbia to be crushed. "She would mobilize on the day Austria crossed the Serbian frontier." More than any of the allied powers, Russia was interested in the preservation of Serbian autonomy. Her people possessed a kinship in race and religion with the Serb, that engendered a strong fellow feeling throughout Russia for the ambitions of the little people. Pan-slavism made the Balkan question an integral part of Russia's foreign policy. Russian geography made the destiny of Constantinople peculiarly a Russian question. The fact that four-fifths of the wealth of European Russia lies in what may be called the Volga and Black sea basin, made a free outlet through the Dardanelles an economic necessity. But it was precisely in the Balkans that the economic penetration by the Central Powers so seriously menaced Russia's position, while at Constantinople German influence and the concessions associated with the Bagdad Railway cut squarely across the line of her economic and imperialistic interests. The people were, therefore, enthusiastically in accord with the government when the fateful declaration of war succeeded mobilization orders early in August, 1914.

That was the old Russia, the Russia of Tsardom, of the orthodox church and Pan-slavism; patriotic Russia eager to impress the stamp of Russian nationalism on the subject nationalities; imperial Russia

with grandiose dreams of dominion at Constantinople and the Far East, with enormous territories and untold resources; the Russia universally regarded as the country with greater potentiality for the twentieth century than any other in the world. With a population of 180 million, possessing enormous wealth and unequalled supplies of foodstuffs, Russia was properly regarded as the anchor man in the colossal tug of war. That she would pull hard was assured, because she was pulling for interests of vital importance to herself.

Fortunately for Russia, the fear of the "Slavic peril," of which Germans have made so much, was of such slight concern to her military leaders that only very insignificant forces were left on the east front to face it. This gave Russia a glorious opportunity to aid the cause of the allies. By unexpected rapidity in carrying out her mobilization, she surprised the Germans, invaded East Prussia and actually threatened the railway communications at Thorn a week or so before the battle of the Marne. In alarm the German General Staff recalled half a dozen army corps from the west to stem the tide of Slavic invasion on the East, a weakening of von Kluck's army said to have contributed seriously to his defeat on the Marne. On her part, Russia paid dearly for her temerity. Von Hindenburg was placed in command of the German forces, and in a short campaign he practically annihilated two of her armies among the Masurian Lakes, and forced the remnant back into Russia.

Elsewhere, however, the Russian armies not only held firm, but in Galicia they pushed the Austrians steadily and victoriously back. Lemberg fell, western Galicia was gradually conquered, and in the late autumn and winter the Carpathian passes were seized. Russia held the key positions, and her troops were preparing for the invasion of Hungary in the spring of 1915. The Russian *steam roller* had done remarkable work. It seemed irresistible.

Then the unexpected happened! Von Mackensen began his terrific drive eastward from Cracow along the base of the Carpathians. By sledge hammer blows, delivered with the aid of tremendously superior artillery he literally pounded his way through the Russian positions in a straight line to Lemberg, and beyond. This did what all the heavy fighting in frontal attacks by the Germans on the Warsaw front had been unable to do. It dislodged the Grand Duke in Poland by threatening his lines of communication—the railways on which the life of his armies depended. He had to evacuate the territory without striking a blow. The entire battle line—the longest in history—had to be abandoned, and a general retreat effected.

The stupendous task was successfully accom-

plished. It involved not only an army of between three and four millions, but the withdrawal of a civilian population estimated at from seven to nine millions. Of all the tasks of the war, this was one of the most colossal. Russia was obliged to look after the needs not merely of a defeated and retreating army by the side of which Napoleon's great invading host of 1812 was insignificant, but it had to care for and distribute a fugitive population the size of that of Belgium or of the State of Pennsylvania. The work was accomplished by the superhuman efforts of the local Zemstov and Dumas, aided somewhat by the government. The latter's assistance, however, was sporadic and often ineffective. Indeed, it began to be rumored that the government instead of helping to the fullest extent of its power, was actually interfering and impeding the work.

Amid the confusion and anarchy that followed, it was scarcely to be expected that Russia should be deeply aroused by the results of her disastrous defeat upon her interests in the Balkans. Back of the Russian lines, politically speaking, lay the Balkans, especially Bulgaria. Germany's victory over Russia served as a determining factor in the final decision of Bulgaria to throw in her lot with the Central Powers. This at once made the position of Serbia, from a military point of view, untenable unless promptly reinforced by her allies. As this was not done, she was quickly crushed between the frontal attacks of von Mackensen from the north, and the flanking operations of the Bulgars from the east. The road to Constantinople was opened, and the much coveted highway linking Central Europe with Mesopotamia came into German hands. In former days this would have aroused Russian imperialists and pan-Slavists to extend their fighting powers to the utmost. In 1916 it called forth no national protest; no crusade on behalf of brother Slavs and fellow-Christians of the orthodox faith. The reasons are not far to seek.

Difficulties nearer home gripped the attention of every Russian. Ominous rumors of treason in high places, combined with the breakdown of the army, disaffected all classes of the people. Sinister pro-German influences seemed to dominate the court. The machinations of Rasputin, Sturmer and others, talk of a separate peace, and the severe shortage of food brought matters to a crisis.

The story of the revolution in Petrograd, in March, 1917, is well known. Conspicuous among the facts of the revolution was the defection of the army. Having undergone a complete renewal in the war, the army of 1917 differed radically from the army of the revolution of 1905 and of Red Sunday. The old army was in German prison camps or under the ground. The new army consisted for the most part of peasants and workmen recruited since the war, and in sympathy with the people. As a result, Russian autocracy found itself without its usual support. It fell like a dead tree!

Nicholas II was at the front, keeping as far away from trouble as he well could. He relied on the

assurances of his minions that the revolution, like so many others, would blow over. When, therefore, the real situation was brought home to him, and he realized that the soldiers, even to the guard regiments at Tsarskoe Selo had joined the revolution, he weakly succumbed to circumstances. He had never done anything else! At noon on the 15th day of March, in the dining-car of his private railway carriage, Nicholas II, the last of the Romanofs, handed the deputies sent to him by the Duma, several small sheets of paper on which he had written his abdication. He had gambled away an imperial sceptre of unparalleled power by his connivance at the treasonable dealings with the enemies of Russia, and by his playing with the spirit of progress as if it were a bauble to amuse the scions of royalty.

A provisional government was at once set up, which properly regarded itself as the custodian of the will of the people. It was composed mainly of Cadets, that is, constitutional democrats, representatives of the middle class, who, if they had had their way, would have preferred a constitutional monarchy. Prince Lvov was prime minister; Milyukov, the brilliant writer and scholar, minister of foreign affairs. Only one member of the Cabinet, Kerensky, represented the masses. He was an extraordinary young man of 37, of obscure origin, who had come into prominence in the revolution of 1905, and later as a socialistic lawyer. During the days of the revolution he had won great popularity by his radical speeches. On one occasion his words, "Comrades, we are here to swear that Russia shall be free," were taken up by the crowd, and with the voice of the multitude literally thousands of right hands went up in the air to the words, "We swear," while a still mightier ovation greeted his concluding statement: "Long live the free citizenship of free Russia."

It soon appeared, however, that in the selection of the members of the provisional government the Duma had failed to take sufficient account of this free citizenship of free Russia. They demanded more voice in the government, and being well organized in their *soviets*, or councils of soldiers and workmen, they were in a position to direct the great physical power of the mob. The provisional government did everything in its power to satisfy them. It scrupulously avoided everything that savored of the old regime. Even the language of the old order was carefully stricken from the proclamations of the new government; such words as authority, law, coercion, etc., were sedulously avoided, and the death penalty was abolished. But the populace demanded more. Looking upon itself as the real hero of the revolution, the proletariat—the soldiers and workmen of Petrograd—claimed that having destroyed the old regime, it was entitled to direct the affairs of the new state. One by one the Cadets were crowded out of the ministry, pushed aside, to make room for revolutionary socialists. Then under the pressure of internal disorders and danger from the enemy on the front, Kerensky was made dictator.

Kerensky stood for a compromise between the extreme demands of the radical revolutionists and the nationalists. It was hoped that he would bring Russia up sharp into the battle line of the allies. He was hailed as the *Slav Cromwell*, a new and greater Napoleon! What the history of Russia and Europe would have been had a really great military genius appeared as a dictator among the Eastern Slavs before the Bolsheviks had completely disintegrated the Russian military forces, is interesting food for speculation.

But Kerensky was neither a Cromwell nor a Napoleon. He belongs rather to the type of French revolutionists known as Girondists. An idealist with some oratorical power, Kerensky, like the men of the Gironde, lacked even the willingness of Robespierre to strike when he had the power. He was less of the Mountain than he was of the Gironde—a dreamer of dreams, and a weaver of words, an idealist, over-optimistic in his faith in the goodness of the Russian people. As he himself put it, he wished to regard them all as conscious free Russian citizens. Against such a people the use of force was unnecessary and unwarranted. Therefore, force, coercion and authority were all abolished as characteristics of the old order.

Whatever these theories might develop among a civilian population in time of peace, in time of war, they would by their very nature bring disorganization and ruin, especially in the army. With the removal of the death penalty and the permission of soldiers to criticize their officers, came the end of all discipline in the Russian military establishment. A charter of the soldiers' liberties was promulgated—note it says *liberties*, not *duties*. The soldiers began to disobey their officers, set up their own authority, or desert. The army disintegrated, hundreds of thousands flinging away their rifles and starting for home or for the cities, to swell the ranks of the turbulent masses. In a speech delivered in Petrograd at this time, the assistant minister of war said that "although he did not remember the precise figures, he knew that runaways from the army numbered several millions." Think of it! Several millions of deserters, who in turn all became by necessity ardent advocates of peace. Russia, as a military factor, shrank to a shadow of her former self.

The military leaders were in despair. Upon the urgent representations of the General Staff, the Moscow Congress endorsed a plan of restoring discipline. The Cossacks pledged their support, and under the direction of the generalissimo, Kornilov, the task was begun. Cossack and other loyal regiments were carefully distributed throughout the army. Troops refusing to obey orders and return to the former discipline were summarily dealt with. One effective, though gruesome method being to form them into hollow squares and march them for an entire day before the other troops till sundown, when they were shot. On their part the rebellious soldiers would shout defiance and threats at the officers, and sing the Marseillaise till their voices failed them.

With the army at the front, these efforts were fairly successful, but the difficulty lay with the millions of soldiers back of the line, in the provinces and the cities, where the influence of the *soviets* was supreme. To deal with this situation, Kerensky, Kornilov and others in a meeting at general headquarters agreed on the plan to get rid of the dominance of the *soviets*, and establish a dictatorship of five men. When everything was arranged, Kornilov moved on Petrograd. Then like a bolt out of the blue came Kerensky's defection, his denunciation of Kornilov, the order for his arrest, and the collapse of the attempted *coup d'état*. At the critical moment, Kerensky's fear of the *man-on-horseback* got the upper hand, and the only chance to save Russia for discipline and the war, was lost. Whether it could have succeeded is a question. Its leader was a man of great strength. Kornilov had twice escaped from German prison camps, and later worked himself up by sheer force of ability to the highest command of the armies. His strength of character, coupled with his popularity among the soldiers, promised well.

Nor was the policy of Kerensky in dealing with the non-military part of his stupendous task any more successful. At the very beginning, as minister of justice in the first provisional government, he flung open wide the doors of the Russian prisons—took them off their hinges, as it were. Being off their hinges, he could not easily get them back in place, when he discovered at last that his conscious Russian citizens were less law-abiding than he had thought. He could not answer, even if he understood, the peasant who asked him, "What's the use to divide the land when we are dead?" Or the soldier who thought it only natural that he should desert because he was tired of fighting, attached to his home, his family and his land. Indeed, it is difficult to see how anyone could have stemmed the tide of disorder and disorganization, once the floodgates were opened. To do so would have involved making over millions of Russians; to give to the Moujik a new head, a new history and a new religion. For you can't execute or put millions into prison—"even in the name of liberty." Kerensky's initial mistake lay in undermining discipline in the army, and law and order among the civilian population. It proved not only his own undoing, but the undoing of stable government altogether.

After six months of virtual dictatorship he was swept aside by a new movement much more radical and extreme than that which had overturned the Romanofs. Again it was the proletariat of Petrograd organized in soldiers' and workmen's *soviets* or councils, that made the revolution. But this time they were conscious not only of their power, but of what they wanted. Dominated by the extreme wing of the socialist revolutionists—the Bolsheviks—they were determined to put an end to the war and to all vestige of middle class or capitalistic government.

The new revolution occurred in November, 1917. The *soviet* of the soldiers and workmen of Petrograd organized a monster military demonstration; the

Kerensky government was swept away, and a revolutionary government under the name of the Revolutionary Military Committee was set up. The revolution was at once announced to the army in an official proclamation with orders that the proclamation be read to the troops immediately, that officers not joining the revolution be arrested, and that under no circumstances were any commands to be allowed to start for Petrograd. At the same time the following was announced as the program of the new authority:

"The offer of an immediate democratic peace; an immediate handing over of the large proprietorial lands to the peasants; the transmission of all authority to the *soviets*; and an honest convocation of the Constituent Assembly. The proclamation ended with the words, "Soldiers! For Peace, for Bread, for Land, for the Power of the People! (Signed) The Military Revolutionary Committee."

This breathes a confidence and an assurance the proclamations of the Kerensky government never had. It is indicative of the much more rigorous policy of the new leaders, Lenine and Trotzky. Repeatedly the latter threatened the inauguration of a Reign of Terror after the manner of the French Revolution. In the Petrograd despatches of December 17, he is reported to have told the objectors to the Bolshevik rule, "You are perturbed by the mild terror we are applying to our enemies. But know that within a month this terror will take the terrible form of the French Revolutionary Terror—not the *fortress*, but the *guillotine*."

Lenine and Trotzky are radical socialists, the latter having been for a time an editor of the socialist paper, the *Novi Mir*, in New York. They are men of quite a different stripe from Kerensky. Theorists, too, it is true, but with it, uncompromising realists, who believe in using every instrument at hand to gain their ends. Thus, instead of an idealist faith in the ultimate goodness of the every-day Russian, these men suppressed the hostile newspapers and encouraged the Bolshevik press in every way possible. Only the papers of the extreme Left, like the *Izvestia*, were allowed in the army, such reputable journals as the *Ryetch* and the *Novoye Vremya* being refused circulation. In other words, like the Germans, they believe in propaganda; in giving the Russian the kind of reading matter that will make him think and act right (?). If money is necessary to spread the gospel of Bolshevism, get it, and plenty of it. Even subventions from German sources were openly accepted, Lenine frankly replying to his critics that "if the Kaiser wished to contribute to his own funeral, he was quite willing that he should."

With the Bolshevik regime, Russian history entered a new phase, marked by the renunciation of the public debt, the proclamation of free lands, and the demand for the cessation of hostilities on all fronts, preliminary to a general peace. Control lies entirely in the *soviets* or councils of soldiers, workingmen and peasants, that is, in the hands of the masses of the cities. Five months of this extreme radical government has brought not only disorder and confusion at

home, but disintegration and a humiliating peace abroad. Perhaps the failure to deal effectively with the enemy is not to be laid at the door of the Bolsheviks, though it is a matter of speculation whether men like Trotzky and Lenine ever really expected the German wolf to release his prey because of the peace cooings of the Bolshevik dove. To their credit, be it said, that for a time they emphatically declined any peace that did not secure the withdrawal of the armies from Russian territory and the recognition of the principle of no annexations. Why they made peace so promptly upon the resumption of hostilities by Germany, instead of standing by their original proposals in which Trotzky defied the Kaiser to continue the war, and, if he wished, seize a country where every man had a gun, and where the entire population had to be fed, is a mystery.

It is true the Bolsheviks were concerned first of all with establishing the social revolution in Russia, with the vague hope that the leaven of internationalism would speedily do its work in the ranks of the workers and soldiers of the warring nations. To them the capitalistic state, whatever the form of its political organization, was the great enemy to be destroyed. For the Russian, these revolutionists, like the Paris Commune, which demanded that "the absolute autonomy of the commune be extended to all the localities of France," ordered the recognition of the complete sovereignty of the local *soviets* of soldiers, workmen and peasants. An All-Russian Congress composed of delegates from the local *soviets* is supposed to represent the central power. When not in session, it confers its authority on a committee of the congress or council. This is presumably the body to which Lenine and Trotzky are responsible. But as was made clear by the dispersal of the national assembly, the *soviet* of Petrograd would not accept a higher authority. As a matter of fact, authority rests with a small minority of extremists who control the *soviets* of Petrograd, Moscow and other important cities. It represents, if it can be said to represent anything, the absolute rule of the proletariat.

In the meantime, separatist tendencies which had lain dormant or been suppressed, have appeared in all quarters of the once extensive dominions of the Tsars. Based on racial and nationalistic conditions, they have been adroitly used to establish a tier of buffer states from the Arctic to the Black Sea. Of these much the most important from the standpoint of its effect upon the war is that of the Ukraine, or Little Russia. Its territory is very fertile, much of it lying in the rich black earth belt. Individual ownership of land is the rule, communal ownership under the *mir*, with its pernicious obstacles to progress, never having been widely established in this region. This created an economic basis for the difference between the Little Russian and the Great Russian peasant, and accounts in a large measure for the hostility of the former to the Bolshevik policy. He is more conservative, and opposed to land distribution.

But it is not merely in his system of land tenure

and manner of agriculture that the Dnieper Russ differs from the Great Russian. The Little Russian differs from the Great Russian quite as much physically and temperamentally. He is, for example, considerably taller than the Great Russian, and, unlike him, he is dark, with brown eyes and black hair. In disposition he is open-hearted, hospitable and emotional. The brighter sun of the south land seems to have made him musical, imaginative, and poetical. He is fond of games, dancing and pleasure. To him Russia owes most of her music, her poetry, and her folk song. "What ecstasy, what joy has a summer day in Little Russia?" cried Gogol, in the bleak and uncongenial Petrograd, as he wrote his "Evenings on a Farm in the Ukraine." Indeed, Gogol rejected all idea of kinship with the Great Russian, whose rough, surly and somewhat phlegmatic nature always annoyed him. The two groups also differ in speech. There are still many villages in the border territory where the two have lived side by side without intermarrying and without understanding each other's language.

These differences were well understood by the Central Powers, and the Ukraine has been an object of their especial attention ever since the overthrow of the old government. Not only did they need this granary of Europe, but they saw in the dislike of the Ukrainians for the Bolsheviki an economic as well as a racial basis for the dismemberment of Russia. Nor is this all. To the international significance of the Berlin to Bagdad Railway over the Balkan bridge there are now added the possibilities of a new and equally important route via Cracow, Lemberg, Odessa and the Black Sea, to the trade areas of Asia—a new intercontinental highway passing up the highly developed Oder basin across the low divide into Galicia, thence down the Dniester basin, skirting the borders of the garden province of Bessarabia, to Odessa. The line would pass through the richest grain and grazing lines of eastern Europe, and bring the Central Powers into close touch with the vast iron and coal deposits of the Donetz. It would reach out to the commerce of the Black Sea, and of western Asia.

Again and again during this war attention has been directed to the dangers of a Middle Europe dominated by Germany. Here we have an extension of its area brought on by the disintegration of Russia, far beyond the expectations of even the most rabid pan-Germans. Economic penetration and control by Germans is almost inevitable with political and economic prospects of so attractive a character. The resurrection in the last few days of the project for a ship canal connecting the Baltic with the Black Sea is striking evidence of the promptness with which they put their policies into practice. Such a canal would lie for its entire length in the dominated territory.

Hope of checkmating these grandiose schemes must lie in the regeneration of Russia, and in the revival of nationalism in European Russia at least. That this will develop and organize sufficiently in time to

be of real military service in the war seems doubtful. On the other hand, there is every reason to expect that it will assert itself in the future and wrest the control of this important region from the enemy. Russian patriotism and the nationalistic spirit in Russia have too long a history to be so easily forgotten and pushed aside. Possibly America's sympathetic support of the Russian democracy may bestir the Eastern Slav in the interests of native land to abandon the mad chase after internationalism.

In the meantime, the work of disintegration is going on; demoralization and anarchy prevail in the economic life of the people. Transportation, always inadequate, broke down early in the war. Russia has only 9.3 kilometres of railways per square kilometre as against 114.5 kilometres in England, 102.1 in Germany, and 155.5 in Belgium. To this inadequate mileage must be added the shortage in locomotives and rolling stock. One of our foremost authorities on railroads said recently, that, before the war, Russia needed 2,000 new engines annually to keep her locomotive power up to the needs of the existing roads, but that instead of getting 2,000, she economized by getting 200, and even less during the war. But this is far from the whole story. During the last year the management and control of the Russian railroads has been completely demoralized. We heard of whole trains abandoned by their crews, of bands of soldiers seizing trains and locomotives whenever and wherever they pleased for joy rides. Like reckless children in the exercise of their power, they pay absolutely no heed to the needs of the service or of the public.

With the transportation system of the country thus demoralized, it is evident that the food supply must be in a most precarious condition. The railroads do not function. Hence even if the food were to be had in abundance, it could not be brought to the centres of population at Petrograd and Moscow except with extreme difficulty.

Then there is the disruption of the monetary and financial system. The value of the rouble fluctuates continually. At no time now is it above 50 per cent. of its face value. Its buying power is constantly called in question by the steady increase in the number of counterfeit coins appearing every week. Very naturally the peasant is unwilling to part with his grain and other articles save for fabrics, woollens, and cotton goods, farm implements and the like.

The chief sufferer from these conditions has been the city population, particularly the industrial workers. It is estimated that there are about 2,700,000 of them. Their representatives are in power, and having overthrown autocracy, it is quite natural that they should try to get some material return or advantage. They have adopted a labor program which calls for a six-hour day at from \$6.00 to \$8.00 as one of the items of an extensive Utopian scheme. In the meantime they refuse to work save at intervals. Scores of the country's mammoth industrial establishments, like the great engine works at Kharkoff and the huge rails-factory at Ekaterinenburg, are closed, just as are the huge mines of the Donetz. More un-

fortunate still has been a tendency towards incendiarism which has destroyed millions of dollars' worth of property both in the town and in the country. Chief among the first being the destruction of one of the largest cotton factories in the world, the celebrated Prokhoroff works at Moscow.

To find the causes of this extraordinary development in Russia during the last year is a difficult problem. How can one account for this complete surrender of the purposes so loyally proclaimed at the beginning of the war, or explain the wild chase after a universal brotherhood and a social millennium that has pushed aside all other consideration? Whether we can explain it or not, there are certain facts, historical and geographical in their nature, that will help greatly toward a better understanding of the situation.

All through her history Russia has been geographically isolated. She is shut off by nature from western Europe. She is largely landlocked, and was therefore not stimulated to commerce and intercourse with other nations. She did not lie on the road to anywhere. On the contrary, she has always lain like a huge inert mass on the borders of Asia, constantly subject to influences from that quarter. In addition to this national isolation there has been local isolation. For Russia is a country of vast areas only sparsely settled. The roads are bad and the means of transportation have always been poor. The grip of the long Russian winter is very close. The country people, and they represent over 90 per cent. of the population, have always been isolated in their village communities, shut off from all stimulus to progress.

A similar isolation characterizes the religious life of the nation. Russia in the tenth century adopted the eastern or Byzantine form of the Christian religion, and so shut herself out from the cultural development of western Europe. The Orthodox Church has never entered deeply into the life and thought of her adherents as have the churches of the west, which accounts in large measure for the fact that she has wielded no influence on the revolutionary crisis. The great ecclesiastical congress at Moscow last year should have developed into a national assemblage for the discussion and formulation of the church's policy on the momentous problems of the day. Instead, it degenerated into a gathering of respectable ecclesiastics concerned first and foremost with the questions of the property and the rights of the church under the Republic. The time-honored faith in the ultimate restoration of the Cross on the dome of St. Sophia at Constantinople was forgotten. With such dearth of leadership, the pulpits of the Russian orthodox faith became scared and silent. The churches were deserted. The public squares, on the other hand, were overcrowded with eager listeners, who, failing to hear the message of human brotherhood from the priests, turned to the preachers of socialism.

To her peculiar geography must also be attributed the fact that Russia up to the war was not only predominantly agricultural in her economic interests, but

that her agriculture was very far behind that of western Europe in its development. We are so apt to forget that Russian agriculture down to very recent times rested on serfdom. Both on the imperial estates and on those of the nobles, the millions of peasants lived in a state of abject servitude. As late as the second decade of the nineteenth century, serfs were sold like chattel in open market, a fact readily attested by reference to the advertisement of sales of those days. Thus in a Moscow paper called the *Gazette*, of 1809, is this notice: "To be sold: three coachmen, well-trained and handsome:—two girls, the one eighteen and the other fifteen years of age, both of them good looking," etc. Serfs and cattle were intentionally put in the same category, as appears in such announcements as "In this house one can buy a coachman and a Dutch cow."

The serfs were finally emancipated by Alexander II in 1861. But the individual serf could not buy his land. The title was held by the village community of which he formed a part. For almost fifty years communal ownership continued among the peasantry of Central Russia. The village community, or *mir*, as it was called, absolutely controlled the economic life of these rural populations, and naturally destroyed individual initiative and incentive to progress.

Only a very small proportion of Russia's vast population of one hundred and eighty million is engaged in industrial and commercial life. This means that that important element, the middle class in Russia, is still exceedingly small. And if we interpret this in the terms of politics, it means that the basis for a limited monarchical type of government does not exist. For it is the men of industry and commerce, united with the farmers and land-owners, that have furnished stability to the modern capitalist state. Stolypin's land policy, adopted in 1909, was an effort at reform. It provided that the peasant could demand that his share of the land be allotted to him individually, and in his own right. Thousands of peasants withdrew from the communal system every year and the movement was going on rapidly before the war. I traveled for several days with a government commissioner from Rybinsk engaged in the work of allotting land to and adjusting the disputes between the *mir* and the individual peasant. In nearly every instance it was the better type of peasant, the most enterprising, who withdrew from the communal system of agriculture to be independent. It involved not only the breaking up of the *mir*, but the gradual building up of a class of small land-owners, and farmers, whose conservative instinct would, it was believed, ally them with law and order and with the monarchy. But the war intercepted this process, and to-day Russia is paying the price for the lack of a large class of moderately well-to-do farmers and progressive industrialists. They would have furnished a basis for moderation and stability that is nowhere apparent now.

A further cause of this situation has been the poverty and ignorance of the peasants of these regions. Incentives to thrift were absent, while many causes for

shiftlessness existed in the system. Ignorance and illiteracy went hand in hand. The proportion varies in the different provinces, but an average of 75 per cent. of the population cannot read or write. The story of the soldiers of Petersburg regiment in the incipient revolt of 1825 cheering for Constantine and Constitution, in the belief that Constitution was Constantine's wife, is one of many illustrating the lack of knowledge of public affairs. The influence of the press and the influence of the public schools were almost negligible factors in the life of the Russian people before the twentieth century. That the government was not eager to educate the masses is only too true. Autocracy believed its own position stronger because of the docility of the ignorant and superstitious peasant. Cruel oppression marks its dealings with all those who wished to bring about a more liberal policy, or who sought in any way to alleviate the lot of the masses.

Thousands of liberals were in this way forced into the ranks of the revolutionists. Driven to despair, they became extremists whose "fundamental principle" in the words of the Stepniak, "was absolute individualism; the negation in the name of individual liberty of all obligations imposed upon the individual by society, by the family, and by religion."

To educate the people, and lift the millions of peasants out of their stolid acquiescence in the existing order they began to "go among the people." The movement became very active in the seventies, and continued with more or less intensity down to the opening of the war, till, we are told, there was not a hamlet in Russia that had not been reached by these missionaries of revolution.

They came chiefly from the educated class, often from the best families in the land. Men and women alike, they left homes of luxury and opportunity to don the garb of the peasant or the laborer to risk the dangers of detection by government spies, arrest, prison and exile. It is impossible even to estimate their numbers. What we do know is that, outlawed as they were, they were not over nice in what they said and thought of those in authority.

Ardent socialists, they preached the gospel of Karl Marx and the doctrine of revolution by force, in order "to establish," declares one of their most widely-circulated pamphlets, "an empire of the working classes, on the ruins of the present social order." The despotism of the Tsar was no more roundly denounced than the oppression of capital. They taught their faith with the enthusiasm of religious fanatics, winning adherents by the thousands. In the nineties they went among the factory operatives, rapidly winning the Russian workmen to their cause. Thus the peasant and the workman of Russia really has had his education in social and political thinking, and it has been along very radical lines.

Nor was it through these emissaries of a new social order alone that the Russian masses were taught. For many years the foremost writers of Russia have been their allies. Foremost among them was Tolstoy. His championship of the oppressed peasantry, of open re-

sistance to militarism, of political revolution, and of free lands is well known. Thus in that short but powerful sketch, "Where is the Way Out?" he says: "The slavery of the working people is due to this, that there are governments. But if the slavery of the laborers is due to the governments, the emancipation is naturally conditioned by the abolition of the existing governments, and the establishment of new governments, such as will make possible the liberation of the land from ownership, the abolition of taxes, and the transference of the capital and the factories into the power and control of the working people." To the simple peasant, the revolution and the overthrow of Tsardom, followed by the proclamation of the distribution of the proprietorial lands was plainly the realization of the state, so eloquently predicted by Tolstoy and others. Land-hungry for generations, and weary of war, he became possessed with one leading idea, to get his share of the land.

Besides, the issues of the war had never been his peculiar concern. Too ignorant to think and reason in terms of nationalism or even of patriotism, the Russian has always been prone to yield to circumstances, and to self-indulgence. Even if he had not imbibed the anti-militaristic doctrines and ideas of international brotherhood from Tolstoy and other writers, he would still be, despite his autocratic government, the most care-free individualist in the world. More than any one else he seeks for self-gratification, making light of the bonds and conventions of society. Artsbashef's *Sanin* (1909) expresses it fully, this worship of the natural man and the philosophy of self-gratification. It is Bolshevism in ethics and morals long before Lenine and Trotzky had the opportunity of trying its theories in practice.

The emancipated Russian, declared Herzen, Russia's earliest socialist leader, "is the most independent man in Europe. What shall stop him? Shall respect of the past? But does not the history of modern Russia begin with an absolute negation of nationality and tradition?" Addressing the socialists of western Europe, he says: "Your faith does not move us. You are too religious for us. We share your hatreds, but we do not understand your attachment for the heritage of your ancestors. We are too oppressed, too unhappy to be contented with half-liberty. You have arrangements to make, scruples to restrain you. We have no arrangements, no scruples; but power fails us for the present." In the November revolution his disciples at last got the power. What they will do with it ultimately remains to be seen. Up to the present they surely have not proceeded on the basis that they had arrangements or scruples to consider. They accept no obligations from the past; they repudiate the obligations of the state, treaties and agreements, all titles and claims to property, and demand the absolute rule of the proletariat not only in Russia, but in all countries. There was to be freedom—a great deal of it. But there was no program to keep it within the limits of the needs of the commonweal. That the Bolshevik regime in this reflects again a striking trait in the

national character is evident to all who know the Russian. He dislikes formal plans, organization and method.

To a friend who sought to arouse the spirit of emulation among the railway operatives during the provisional government by pointing to the achievements of the Germans by their organization, the leader of the man promptly replied, "We hate the Germans. They're too damned efficient." The average Russian always tries to avoid difficulties rather than to overcome them; he does not even try to get around them, but with that hardest worked word in his language *nitchevo* (it doesn't matter! don't mind!), he is very apt to turn to something else altogether. Perhaps it is the Orient in him. For his is the way of Mary, not of Martha.

The Russian has the faith, the love, and the hospitality of Mary, but he lacks the practical characteristics of Martha. Nobody in the world will talk so long and so earnestly on the subject in hand, whether it be on some simple question of daily routine, or on the deeper questions of life, religious, social or political. Someone recently called them a nation of a hundred million orators. They are all philosophically inclined, and particularly prone to speculation on religious and ethical subjects. The brotherhood of man has for many years had a peculiar fascination for them. It is almost a religion with them. "Their religion shows itself," says Tolstoy, "in their acknowledgment of the brotherhood and equality of all men of whatever race or nationality; in their regarding them as unfortunate; in their custom of begging one another's forgiveness on certain days; and even in the habitual use of a form of the word forgive when taking leave of anybody; in the habit, not merely of charity towards, but even respect for beggars which is common among the people; in the perfect readiness for self-sacrifice for anything believed to be religious truth. . . ."

That Tolstoy knew his Russians, appears in the manner these qualities have shown forth in the dark background of the present war. Thus, says Dillon, when peasant women wringing their hands and crying aloud when their men folk left for the front, were remonstrated with and told that the women of Sparta did not lament at such partings, they merely answered, "Then the women of Sparta were very cruel and wicked," and went on weeping bitterly. German and Austrian prisoners of war sent out to work have been treated in Russian villages not as strangers, but as if they were of the family. "They could not help it," the peasants said, "they were ordered to fight just as we were." In this way German and Austrian prisoners often became dangerous enemy propagandists in the very bosom of the Russian people.

Carried away by their enthusiasm for this spirit of toleration of the Russian, by his naive childlike faith, and his sense of the brotherhood of mankind, writers like Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, saw in the simple unsophisticated moujik the elemental force for

the regeneration of Europe. Contrasting conditions in western Europe with those in Russia, Dostoevsky said, "Your Europe is on the eve of ruin; she faces a general universal catastrophe. The ant-hill which has long been in the course of formation within her has been undermining her Christ, her church, and her morals. . . . Her unsolvable political questions, her unnaturalness must infallibly lead to one final disintegrating political war in which all the powers will have a share, and which will break out in our century; perhaps in the coming decade. All old things will crumble forever. The waves will be broken on our (Russian) shores alone, for only then will it be revealed how greatly different is our national organism from that of Europe."

That the European cataclysm has come no one will question. On the other hand, few would be willing to admit that the course of events in Russia has revealed the presence of the great regenerating power predicted for it. There are those, I know, who profess to see it. Thus a writer in a recent article, says: "The issues which we imagine we are contending for in this war, Russia had long since decided for herself, as a consequence of which she had more freedom to show to Europe than Europe could possibly show her."

Such extravagant utterances might well be allowed to pass unnoticed if they did not have so wide a circulation. The issues we are contending for in this war have as yet not been grasped at all in their larger scope by the Russians. Nor is it so easy to believe in the so-called superiority of Russian freedom. Anarchy is not freedom, nor can license be construed as liberty. Despite these enthusiasts, the Russian is still far behind Europe and America. Ignorance and poverty are primary factors in determining the status of a people in the scale of liberty and of progress. And these, unhappy Russia has still to contend with, the cruel heritage of her geographic isolation, her hard climate, and her extraordinary history.

But explain it as we may, the anchor man of the allies in this great war slipped the rope at a moment when victory seemed certain. That demoralization did not overtake us was due largely to the fact that a new and better trained ally had joined in the pull for democracy. For a time the advent of the United States as a belligerent seemed to steady even wavering Russia, and from March to November of 1917 it was hoped that she might rally under the leadership of Kerensky. Indeed, there are many who believe that a clearer definition of allied war aims during these critical months, with the acceptance of the principle of peace without annexations and indemnities, and the right of nations to determine their own destiny, would have saved Russia. Possibly! though one cannot help thinking when one reads the indictment of the allies by some of our ardent Bolshevik admirers, of the doctor who proclaims from the housetops that if his treatment had been followed, the patient would not have died. It is difficult to see how the allies could have saved unhappy Russia from herself, or, what is

more important at present, from Germany. The revolutionary and disintegrating forces were both too strong and too numerous.

For the present these forces continue to dominate the situation. Extreme radicalism pervades the millions of the Russian masses till it has almost become a religion with them. The liberal middle class element, the intelligenzia, as well as the adherents of the old order, are in hiding or silent. It would manifestly be futile for them to do anything else for the moment. That they will continue to do so, however, is not likely. Indeed, it is altogether probable that the gloved hand of German intrigue, once the Bolsheviki,

have sufficiently served her purpose, will be the first to encourage them. The German Junkers do not relish the thought of a Russian republic. But the revolutionary movement of Russia is too broad and deep to continue to be the tool of German intrigue. Up to the present the Central Powers by means of a powerful and insidious propaganda have succeeded in directing it into channels favorable to their interests. That they can control it permanently is out of the question. It is too big a thing for that. Sooner or later it will push them aside or engulf them in a great popular uprising and revolt against autocracy and militarism in their own countries.

Restoration of English History to High School Curriculum

BY PROFESSOR HENRY L. CANNON, LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY.

For the last few years, the writer has been of the opinion that a mistake is being made in the omission of English history from the course of study of many high schools. He has hitherto hesitated, however, to say anything about the matter; for he has realized the amount of pressure to which high school principals and administrators have been subjected by the necessary adoption of so many new studies in the practical fields. Even now he would by no means minimize the need of providing expert instruction in those studies which are immediately useful for that vast majority of high school students who are to go out at once into the world to make their living; but other elements have entered into the situation which appear to make it equally necessary to emphasize the need of the study of English history.

The high schools have two very important educational aims: one, to prepare the student to make a living; the other, to prepare him to become a good citizen. As to the latter aim, it is a truism to state that history has a peculiar value in preparation for good citizenship. But it has been rather overlooked that English history is of special importance in the teaching of good citizenship; for the whole course of historical development in the British Isles is nothing less than an explanation of the conditions under which our own government arose; and of the institutions which, after some modifications, we have made our own and are pleased to call American. Two great needs of this country at the present moment are that we should think intelligently and that we should have the same general ideals for democracy. The writer submits that there is no study in the curriculum so effective in the unifying of the people as the study of that history, beginning with English and concluding with American, which will intelligently explain our present-day institutions.

Just at the present moment, when the language studies are being revised, owing to the questionable nature of the study of German, or at any rate its unpopularity, it seems an especially appropriate moment to take up this question. Principals are asking them-

selves how far it is desirable to take up modern languages under the present urgent conditions. Somehow there is a glamour about the study of a foreign language which makes a certain appeal to students and teachers; but, after all, our problem is to provide the best solid education possible. An immediate argument for the teaching of languages is that owing to the present dislocation of society in Europe, it may become quite possible to get teachers of any foreign language at a comparatively cheap rate; while on the other hand it is going to become more and more difficult to secure good teachers of history. But the questions should be: first, whether or not history is more desirable; and, secondly, whether or not it is better policy even to go to greater expense to supply the additional instruction in history.

There are other points in connection with this matter which might be particularized that will readily occur to those who have the superintendence of secondary schools in charge. Although text-books are excellent, there is considerable difficulty in the selection of just the right sort of teachers. But the need of good citizenship is imperative, and all obstacles should be met squarely and removed at any cost. It is idle to talk about the dangers of foreign propaganda and the lack of coherence of our heterogeneous population unless we take positive steps to remedy the evils to which we are exposed.

The Nation for April 4 publishes "The British Empire and a League for Peace" by Professor George Burton Adams, of Yale University. Professor Adams says that "the problem of forming a workable federation for the British Commonwealth of Nations is the problem of forming a workable league of peace for all English-speaking nations." Against the idea of a central Parliament to carry out such an idea, Professor Adams urges that such a conclusion overlooks the facts that this alliance is to be a commonwealth of nations, not of provinces; that within a commonwealth of nations internal legislation is not merely out of place, but is dangerous; and that the proposal overlooks the experience of the United States. After discussing each objection in turn Professor Adams urges conference rather than legislation as a means of solution.

England at War

BY PROFESSOR CONYERS READ, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

The early summer of 1914 found England full of troubles. Labor was restless and disposed to strike, the agitation for woman suffrage was becoming increasingly violent, worst of all the Irish Home Rule question had greatly embittered party politics, had sown disaffection in the army and had brought Ireland to the verge of civil strife. Obviously England was in no temper to face a foreign war. It is no wonder then that when late in July the dictatorial attitude of Austria toward Serbia threatened to embroil the whole of Europe, the English government did everything in its power to avert a conflict. Its efforts failed. Yet even when war came it is not impossible that if Germany had respected the neutrality of Belgium England would have kept out of the fight. She was not bound by treaty to assist any of the combatants even in a war of defense. But the invasion of Belgium, whose neutrality she like Germany was pledged to maintain, left her no honorable choice. She had to fight. At least so it appeared to the average Englishman. Whatever other factors were involved, to him the determining factor was Belgium. Whatever prompted the English government to its formal declaration it was Belgium that aroused and united the English people in support of the war.

At the outset it appeared likely that England's main effort in the war would be at sea. She had an excellent army, man for man probably as fine a fighting force as there was in the world, but it was very small in comparison with the German hordes. England was ready to put about 165,000 men in the field immediately. She had available a trained army reserve of perhaps as many more, and a partially trained territorial army of some 200,000 more than that. But behind these there was not in England as there was in Germany and France a whole nation trained to arms. The average Englishman knew no more of soldiering than the average American. Under these circumstances it was clear enough that at the outset anyway England's contribution to the land forces of her allies would inevitably be small, though the Germans missed their reckoning when they held it to be contemptible.

At sea, however, the situation was otherwise, and it was from England's navy that her allies expected her most effective help. She did not disappoint them. It was the business of her fleets to clear the seas of German shipping, bottle up the German fleet and establish a close blockade of German ports. The importance of these tasks can hardly be exaggerated. Germany depended upon her foreign trade not only for a considerable amount of her materials for manufacture, but also for a considerable part of her food supply. The cutting off of her foreign trade would, it was certain, handicap her industries and might in time starve her out. Even more essential was it that the sea should be kept open for England's allies.

The German navy was more powerful than the French and Russian navies combined. Without England it might have blockaded France and Russia, and later Italy, cut off their supplies and reduced them to submission. France and Italy could hardly have maintained the war for a year without English or American coal, nor Russia without English or American munitions. The English fleet kept open to England's allies the markets of the world at the same time that it forced Germany to depend almost entirely upon her own resources. The English fleet enabled first England and after her America to muster and maintain great armies in France. It is true, of course, that German submarines have been able to do a good deal of damage in spite of England's vigilance. Yet it can hardly be doubted that without her navy Germany would long ago have had her way on the continent of Europe. Here is a part of England's effort which we are likely to lose sight of in the tumult and the shouting of spectacular land engagements. It has been done without much of the obviously heroic, by long and weary vigils against an enemy who fights in the dark unceasingly with every poisonous instrument which barbarism can suggest and science devise. And it has been done well.

But the English were not content to stop at that. It became obvious after the first two months of the conflict that if Germany was to be defeated England would have to play a much larger part in the land fighting than she was immediately equipped to do. She did not hesitate. All she asked was time to get ready, and thanks to her fleets, her gallant little army in France and the splendid fighting of the French time was allowed her. The rapidity with which she raised an army of continental proportions is one of the finest episodes in her national history. Her problem was no simple one. She could not resort to Prussian methods. Her people had not been schooled since babyhood to the necessity of a large army nor disciplined to accept the verdict of their government without question. They had to be shown why, and they had to be persuaded, not forced to co-operate. For, after all, their leaders could only remain leaders upon condition that they accurately reflected the popular will. The war in fact had to be made popular or it could hardly be fought at all. Therein lies the significance of the appeal of the English government for volunteers. It was a kind of referendum of the war policy to the popular will. The result was no less significant. In less than two years England had raised by volunteer methods alone an army of some 5,000,000 of men. In proportion to her population this was the equivalent of over 7,000,000 men in Germany and of over 11,000,000 in the United States. It was the decisive answer of the English people to the question as to whether they meant to fight or not.

And it was an answer which they gave not by compulsion, but from conviction, not under pain of martial law, but of their own free will. It is true that after two years England resorted at last to compulsory conscription, but this final step was not taken until the great bulk of her available manhood was in the ranks.

Hardly less remarkable has been the response of British subjects outside Great Britain. It is well known that the great self-governing dominions of the British Empire, Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand are virtually independent states. The only really effective tie which binds them to the mother country is the tie of sentiment. They are not obliged by law to furnish her with a single ship or a single trooper. And yet, though they lay safe and secure behind the guns of the English navy, they stepped forward at once to bear their share of the burden. It would be hard to find a stronger testimony to the power of Britain to command loyalty than the response of South Africa. There, out of a population which numbered scarcely more than a million white people all told, seventy thousand soldiers enlisted for the campaign against the Germans in German Southwest Africa (Annual Register, 1916, p. 312.) A large number of these men, their leader General Botha among them, had ten years before been fighting against England in the Transvaal. Barely ten years of British free government had converted them from foreign enemies to British volunteers. And they did more than merely enlist. They fought to such good effect that they have practically cleared the German out of Africa and won from him more square miles of territory than all his conquests in Europe put together. The response of Australia and New Zealand is written in letters of gold at Gallipoli and in Mesopotamia and in Syria. Canada's loyal spirit has been no less splendidly demonstrated on the west front. Two years ago Canada, out of a total population of a little over 7,000,000 souls, undertook to maintain a fighting force of 500,000 men. (Annual Register, 1916, p. 344.) Less than a year ago, not satisfied with that remarkable effort, she, like New Zealand, resorted to conscription in order that she might offer the full measure of her devotion. Germany seems to have expected that the strain of war would tear the British empire into pieces. As a matter of fact, war has served to bind it closer than ever together. England has indeed been justified of her children.¹

¹ In a speech delivered in the House of Commons on January 14, 1918, Sir Auckland Geddes revealed the following contributions of the various parts of the British Empire to England's armies:

Total contribution of the	
Empire	7,420,000.
England	4,530,000, or 61% of the total.
Scotland	620,000, or 8.3% of the total.
Wales	200,000, or 2.7% of the total.
Ireland	170,000, or 2.3% of the total.
Dominions and colonies ..	900,000, or 12% of the total.
India and other dependencies	1,000,000, or 13.7% of the total.

If space served it would be worth while to consider the effort which the armies of Great Britain have put forth on the field of battle. It is a story worthy of any nation, but too long for the telling here. The retreat from Mons, the defense of Ypres and Neuve Chapelle, the storming of Vimy Ridge, the battle of the Somme testify to-day as Waterloo did a century ago to the splendid fighting qualities of the British people. And it must not be forgotten that only a part of their fighting effort has been put forth in France. They have an army at Saloniki, defending Greece, another of their armies has driven the Turk from Mesopotamia, and still another has occupied southern Syria and recovered the holy city of Jerusalem from the infidels. They have seized and hold virtually the whole of Germany's colonial empire. Indeed, with the exception of the small piece of Alsace which the French occupy and of Kiau Chou in the hands of the Japanese, England is the only power among the allies who holds to-day any considerable amount of the territory of the enemy.

It has, however, been abundantly clear from the outset that the measure of a nation's effort in this war cannot be gauged by the number of her soldiers and sailors, nor even by their valor on land and sea. Armies and navies not only have to be mustered, they have to be fed, clothed, housed, nursed, transported and supplied with incredible stores of guns and ammunition, of ships and of airplanes and of a thousand other complicated engines of destruction. The production of all these things has demanded of England a prodigious financial and industrial effort which cannot be ignored in the reckoning of her contribution to the winning of the war.

In the matter of raising funds for war purposes, England has done more than any one of the combatants. She has undertaken not only to meet her own war needs, but also to assist her less wealthy allies in meeting theirs. From the beginning of the war until the end of March, 1917, England raised by taxes alone about five and a half billion dollars. In the same period she raised by loans of one sort or another nearly sixteen billion dollars. From this enormous total only about two and three quarter billions were applied to the normal peace expenditures of the government. Of the remainder nearly fourteen billions went to meet her own war expenses, and nearly five billions were advanced to her allies. Her estimated war expenses for the fiscal year 1917-18 were placed

(*London Times*, weekly edition, January 18, 1918, page 54.) I have corrected one or two obvious mistakes in the figures as printed in the *Times*.

On the basis of the population of the British Isles in April, 1911 (*Statesman's Year Book*, 1917, page 12), England has contributed to her armies a little over 13% of her total population; Wales, a little less than 10%; Scotland, a little over 13%; Ireland, a little over 4%. Sir Auckland Geddes' classification of dominions and colonies and of India and other dependencies is too vague to enable one to discover the relation of the contributions of the other parts of the British Empire to their populations. It is certain that England and Scotland have made the best showing, and that Ireland has done exceptionally badly.

at over thirty-one million dollars per diem. (Cf., for these figures Britain's Financial Effort, a pamphlet published anonymously by Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1917.) These figures in themselves are so big as to be almost meaningless. Something of their significance may perhaps be gathered by one or two comparisons. The American Civil War is estimated to have cost the North altogether about three and a third billion dollars. Between April 1, 1915, and October 7, 1916, England's total expenditures for the army, the navy and munitions of war came to just under seven and a half billion dollars. In eighteen months of the present war she has spent more than twice as much as it cost the United States to preserve the Union in four years of fighting. (Ibid.) Of all her allies the financial effort of France has been the most considerable. Yet the credits granted to the French government for war purposes up to the end of the year 1917 amount to a little over half those granted in England, and French war loans to a little over half those raised in England. (Cf., for figures in France, the *New York Times*, December 30, 1917.) No one will gainsay the magnificent effort of France in finance as in all other departments of waging war. Yet even France must yield to England in the matter of raising money for the common cause.

But England soon discovered that the raising and spending of money was not in itself sufficient to produce the supplies which the war demanded. She had started out with the notion that she could at the same time fight a world war and conduct her peace-time business as usual, and the result had been that her army ran short of munitions. Before six months had passed it was clear that something radical would have to be done, and have to be done quickly. In the spring of 1915 Mr. Lloyd George declared that England had better abandon the slogan "business as usual" for another slogan, "victory as usual." What he meant, of course, was that she had better concentrate her industrial energies as well as all her other energies upon the grim business of winning the war. He accordingly introduced into the House of Commons a Defense of the Realm Act, which provided for the mobilization of England's industrial resources. Mr. Bonar Law summed up the contents of this remarkable measure when he said that "it practically enabled the government to tell any manufacturer what he was and what he was not to make." He further observed that it conferred more drastic powers upon the government than any measure ever presented to the House of Commons (Annual Register, 1915, p. 81.) Nevertheless it passed through Parliament virtually unopposed. Over night almost, England laid the foundations for a revolutionary reorganization of her industries under governmental control, a performance which in itself must rank among the most remarkable of her war-time achievements.

Space does not serve to describe in detail the course of this industrial reorganization. It is, indeed, hardly necessary to do so, since the story has been well told elsewhere. (Cf., H. L. Gray, "War Time Control

of Industry.") The most immediate demand was, of course, for an enormously increased output of munitions of war. This involved a mobilization of the materials of production, particularly of iron and coal, of the machinery for manufacture, of the means of transportation, and finally of labor. England began by taking over the railways. She proceeded by prohibiting the export of iron and steel without license, and by imposing upon the manufacturers of iron and steel a rule of priority in the filling of orders which gave to the munitions plants the first claim upon their output. After wrestling with several serious labor disturbances in the coal regions she took over the entire control of the coal mines, fixed the price of coal, regulated its transportation, and virtually put the whole nation upon coal rations. With regard to machinery she established the right, and exercised it, of requisitioning for the manufacture of munitions any manufacturing plant in England adapted to the purpose. When the labor supply began to fail she abolished restrictions upon hours of labor, established practically compulsory arbitration to prevent strikes, introduced unskilled labor into manufacturing processes whenever it was practicable, and even brought back from the fighting front those laborers whose skill made them even more indispensable in the factories. (Cf., Gray, "War Time Control of Industry," c. iii.) How much these measures involved in the way of restricting the peace-time liberties of both capital and labor and to what a considerable extent they affected the normal rights of the consumer, particularly the consumer of iron and coal, are easily apparent. What they accomplished in the way of increasing the production of munitions is revealed by the following public statement made in the summer of 1916 by the Under Secretary of the Ministry of Munitions: "At the outbreak of hostilities two years ago there were only three important Government munitions factories in the British Isles, and the five or six large firms that make munitions. To-day some 4,000 Government-controlled firms, employing more than 2,000,000 workers are turning out virtually all of the tremendous amount of war materials which have gone to equip the 5,000,000 British soldiers in the field." (Cf., "The Manufacture of Munitions: An Interview by the Right Hon. Chris. Addison, M.P.," to the Associated Press of the United States, p. 1.) He might have added that in August, 1916, England was producing as many heavy shells in four days as she had produced during the whole year 1914-15, and was turning out in a month nearly twice as many big guns as she had altogether in May, 1915. In addition to this she was sending to the French one-third of her total production of shell steel, and was supplying her allies with large quantities of machinery and munitions and with millions of tons of coal every month. (Cf., "The Means of Victory," a speech delivered by the Right Hon. Edwin Montague, M.P., Minister of Munitions, on the 15th August, 1916, pp. 5, 7, 11, 12.) Certainly there was nothing half-hearted about this performance. If it demanded large sacrifices, it produced large results.

The war has not only presented to England the problem of army and navy supply, it has presented to her also in a very grave form the problem of the supply of the whole civilian population. Here, again, the old peace-time machinery of production and distribution proved inadequate to meet the demand upon it, and here again England had to take revolutionary measures to cope with the situation. It will not be possible to discuss these measures in all their applications. They involved one way or another most of the commodities reckoned essential to civilized living. Perhaps their most striking application was to the question of the food supply.

England in peace time has depended chiefly upon her foreign markets for her food. A large part of her meat, virtually all of her sugar, and almost all of her breadstuffs came from overseas. They came, of course, in ships, and England's food supply in peace time as in war time was largely governed by the shipping available for its transportation. The immediate effect of the war was to withdraw German and Austrian shipping, about 14 per cent. of the world's supply from the world's carrying trade. Of what was left about half the tonnage was English. (Cf., *Tables in Statesman's Year Book*, 1914, p. 24.) With this she had to maintain as far as possible the normal channels of her trade, and at the same time meet an enormous war demand. Her army and navy, for instance, required about 20 per cent. of her total tonnage. About 10 per cent. more had to be assigned to the war needs of her allies. (Cf., *New York Times*, July 27, 1917, p. 2.) The shipyards, heavily engaged in naval construction, could not even maintain their normal peace program of merchant ship building at the very time that normal losses were enormously increased by mines and submarines. For one reason and another England had not available for her own food supply during the war anything like the amount of shipping she could command in peace time. Here obviously was a case where reorganization was necessary if the nation was to be fed.

The English government did not hesitate. It began by forcing all English ships of over 500 tons burden to take out a government license to trade, and of course immediately utilized this licensing for the purpose of directing their trade in accordance with the needs of the nation. It requisitioned all the insulated spaces for the carriage of meat on all English ships, and forced all trans-Atlantic liners to devote from 50 to 75 per cent. of their freight space to the carriage of foodstuffs. It prohibited the importation of all bulky non-essential articles. The net result of its policy was to place something like 90 per cent. of all English shipping more or less directly under government control. (H. L. Gray, op. cit., c. vii.)

By such measures, which of course in large measure involved the fixing of freight rates, the English government provided against a shortage of the foreign food supply. At the same time it took steps to increase home production of food. It requisitioned for agricultural purposes all unused land; it sought to increase the supply of fertilizers; it put at the dis-

position of the farmers labor saving machinery. It set German prisoners to work on the land, it enlisted woman laborers in large numbers, it fixed rates of wages and it encouraged cultivators to increase their wheat sowings by guaranteeing to them a minimum price for their wheat for a period of five years. All of these measures, particularly those fixing wages and guaranteeing prices, represented a very radical departure from the normal practices of peace. By the end of the year 1917 they had resulted in the addition of something like 300,000 acres to the total area of land in England under tillage. (Cf., H. L. Gray, op. cit., c. ix.) Considering the drain of the war upon agricultural labor this was a very creditable showing, though it was not by any means sufficient to render England independent of her foreign food supply.

From the questions of production and supply the English government turned to those of distribution and consumption. It was in this field of its endeavors that it interfered most directly in the private life of the individual Englishman, and made perhaps the largest drafts upon his patriotism. A few from many measures will serve to illustrate their general character. The English government took over the whole supply of sugar at the very beginning of the war, and placed the civil population upon rations. It fixed the price of meat, carefully regulated the profits both of the wholesaler and of the retailer, and even limited consumption by imposing meatless days upon public eating-houses. It fixed the price of wheat, prohibited the milling of pure white flour and insisted upon a large admixture of inferior grains. It limited beer brewing in order to conserve grain. For the same reason it limited the use of starch, allowing it for collars but eliminating it from shirts. It made the wasting of all sorts of food a punishable offence, and even undertook the inspection of garbage pails to prevent it. Finally, and most radically of all, it actually provided the population with a regulation loaf of bread sold below cost and subsidized out of public funds. (Gray, op. cit., 4. viii.)

The distribution of other foodstuffs was similarly regulated, and the prices in many cases fixed. England has not yet reached the point of the actual rationing of her people except in the case of a few commodities like sugar, but she has definitely substituted for the old system of distribution by private competition a new system of government control which aims to keep a nation fed and to deprive the victualler of anything more than a very moderate profit.

It would be possible to show how government control has been extended to other industries as well, to the woolen and cotton industries, for instance. But enough has been said to reveal the fact that England's effort in the war has involved not only the levy and maintenance of an enormous navy on the seas and an enormous army on land, but has also led her to a reorganization of the whole course of her economic life upon a basis which is little short of socialistic. In this respect she has not hesitated to break with

every inherited tradition and every inherited prejudice. Capital and labor both, the producer and the consumer alike, have submitted to a condition of affairs altogether foreign to their experience. Competition and laissez faire, the guiding principles of ante-bellum industrial England, have made way for co-operation under government control. To any one who remembers how tenacious is the grip of custom upon England and how slow the average Englishman is to accept arrangements unwarranted by precedent, this industrial revolution will appear perhaps the most magnificent of England's war efforts.

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Only one aspect of this subject has been summarized with any approach to completeness in the vast amount of literature available—namely, the reorganization of English industry to meet war needs. On this subject, cf. H. L. Gray, "War Time Control of Industry" (Macmillan, 1918). The book has but just appeared. It covers the period of the war to the end of 1917. Dr. Gray was good enough to lend me his proof sheets to assist in the preparation of this article.

On the general problem of converting the English people to the necessity of a supreme effort, cf. A. Chevrillon's brilliant articles in the *Revue de Paris* (November, 1915, to January, 1916), the English version of which, in book form, has appeared under the title, "England and the War" (New York, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1917).

Mrs. Humphrey Ward has presented vivid pictures of England's effort both at the front and in the factories in two books: "England's Effort" (New York, Scribner's, 1916), "Towards the Goal" (New York, Scribner's, 1917).

There is a short but suggestive article on England's effort by Sidney Brooks in the *National Geographical Magazine* for March, 1917.

Hansard's "Parliamentary Debates," "The Annual Register," and the weekly edition of the *London Times* are very fertile sources of information. Unfortunately even the libraries which subscribe to these publications are having increasing difficulty in getting their continuations with any promptitude.

Perhaps the best accessible source of information in America on current changes in England is in the *New York Times*. Its annual summaries of the war situation usually published at the end of December often contain a lot of useful information in a convenient form. The periodical summaries of political events in the *Political Science Quarterly* furnish excellent brief resumes of political and legislative changes. The magazine, *Current History* (published by the *New York Times*), will be found useful. Rather less accessible but of great value are the current histories of the war published in England by the *London Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*. Buchan's "History of the War" is popular and good.

From the multitudinous pamphlets issued in England during the war, the following, which have been widely distributed in America, will be found useful:

H. A. L. Fisher, "The British Share in the War"

(London, Nelson, undated), contains a good summary of the work of the British army and navy during the first year of the war.

Anon., "Britain's Financial Effort" (London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1917). Good upon the subject indicated in the title.

"The Manufacture of Munitions," an interview by the Right Hon. Chris. Addison, M.P., to the Associated Press of the United States (London, Truscott & Son, 1916).

"The Meaning of Victory," a speech delivered by the Right Hon. Ed. Montague, M.P., Minister of Munitions on the 15th August, 1916 (London, Unwin, undated).

Both of these are excellent on the output of munitions of war.

M. Borsa, "England and Her Critics" (London, Unwin, 1917). Translated from the Italian. Good for England's services to her allies in the matter of money and supplies.

On the war efforts of the British colonies, an excellent current account will be found in the *Round Table*, a quarterly journal (Macmillan), devoted to the interests of the British Empire.

ENGLAND'S WAR MUSEUM.

The Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* prints the following extract from the *London Times* describing the plans for a permanent exhibit illustrating the present conflict:

"The scheme for the establishment of a National War Museum in London on the lines suggested by Sir Alfred Mond, is now taking definite shape. It is intended that the museum should commemorate the naval and military effort of the Dominions and it should include representative exhibits exemplifying the work of the Dominions and Indian contingents. The work undertaken in munition factories and by substitutes at home will find adequate representation.

"Among the proposals is that of a Hall of Honor, rich in design, with an adjacent gallery devoted to the separate memorials of the navy and the army. The Hall of Honor might bear on its walls painted portraits, and on its floor pedestals carrying sculptured figures of men who have been specially distinguished by their war service. It is suggested that in the memorial gallery the name of every individual who fell in the war or died of his wounds, should be inscribed on bronze plates framed with the arms of each regiment.

"The Admiralty and the War Office have issued instructions that the museum shall have the first call of all war material and captured enemy trophies on the conclusion of the war. The several Government departments concerned have issued similar instructions concerning all printed matter, posters and proclamations, and all official photographs have been similarly earmarked for the museum. A war library is being formed, which will include all the important publications of British, Ally, neutral and enemy origin dealing with the war. Portraits of all officers and men who have fallen and those who have won distinction are being collected as a photographic record. In the art section pictures dealing with the war have been presented and others are purchased. The section devoted to women's work is collecting records of women's activity in the war, substitution, etc., and is designing models, and a section devoted to children has been added which will include war toys of all nations."

The Spirit of Present History

BY PROFESSOR FREDERIC L. PAXSON, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

In the final weeks of the school year the teacher comes upon the vexed problems that are recorded in living memories, and the student finds fewer and less reliable guides for his collateral reading than have existed at earlier stages of the course. Both student and teacher feel extra inspiration that comes from contact with the living present and the regret that the text-writer has stopped short. To bridge this gap between history and journalism is trying in times of peace; it becomes imperative in time of war.

The contrast between the America of 1918, with a world vision and a readiness to adopt new tools and methods in the service of democracy, and the America of 1877, which was just out of its civic convulsion and was not conscious of any mission that remained unfilled, presents the basic problem for historical diagnosis and solution in the last quarter of the school year. There is in it, despite the seeming paradox, a continuity whose threads may perhaps be found in the federal system, the program of social control, and the ideals of international equity, that have developed steadily, not only from the period of the Civil War, but from the era of our origin itself.

The federal system of the United States was a compromise, not knowingly willed by anyone, but reached in the attempt to reconcile localism and imperialism. It was a practical solution that has proved to fit a society in which were wide local variations, and, at the same time, a steady drift toward larger imperial co-operation.

In the years between 1790 and 1890, there came into fellowship with the American Empire 31 new states, the study of whose imperial problems and adjustments gives the cue to much of the American history course before the Civil War. That war established the fact that a disgruntled region must nevertheless put up with the imperial control of Congress and can hope for its relief only from the improving standard of public understanding.

In our period, since 1877, the emphasis has been less upon the autonomous than upon the imperial end of the compromise. It has been learned—to enumerate truly the obvious—that food inspection is a national function, that railroad regulation and trust control are essentially national, that child labor and employers' liability, and perhaps suffrage and liquor problems are best attacked on an imperial basis, that in a modern world, so long as force may be the final word, only a co-ordinated national scheme can be depended upon.

The story has developed in the American experience from extreme localism towards a centralization whose end is not yet reached. It has prepared the American mind for a co-ordinated world in which all

essential local aspirations may receive fulfillment without making the local group either a nuisance and menace to the world or a canker, sore from unsatisfied desire. The United States believes, out of its own experience, that a league of nations is not an iridescent dream, but a reality capable of accomplishment when the world is tired of national rivalry and anarchy.

A program of social control has in the last forty years carried understanding of problems of government, in widening circles from the centre of politicians and officials to one concentric ring of capitalists, another of manufacturers, another of trades unionists, and another of women. Before the Civil War the status of the slave served to ruffle the "fringe of lunatics" and to deepen the connection between government and life. In the eighties, business learned the lingo of protection, farmers dabbled in financial argument, labor undertook the study of economic society. Out of the work of all of these, as out of abolitionism, has come government extension and appreciation. When government affected only the law-breaker, the multitude of law-abiders knew and thought little about it. As its range has extended more, and ever more, citizens have been forced to study it. The social program has already added much to our national machinery and widened the group which can give real support to a national policy because it understands it. To-day business is reconciled to a shipping board, labor accepts a wage commission, society adjusts its life to the food prescribed by a food administration. And all are in danger of forgetting, unless the teacher reminds them, that abolitionism and the bank war were among the earlier movements that taught the people their vital relationships toward their government.

The ideals of international equity that flourished in America, and that America is offering to the world, are not a spontaneous growth, but have their origins in the accidents of the American environment and its resulting philosophy.

Under the British Empire the king in Council sat upon extra-colonial or inter-colonial matters, and by numerous precedents impressed upon the American mind the workability of a higher, outside judge. The supreme court fastened this notion upon the American experiment in government. And the court worked as happily as did the occasional international tribunals that sat in turn upon the northern boundary, the stolen slaves, the Dutch claims, or the Alabama. At the opening of our latest period the most vivid spot in our international memory was the Geneva arbitration, in anticipation of which a proud and mighty

nation had officially "regretted" its actions and the consequences.

The machinery for international justice has so close a resemblance to that which we use daily for federal justice that its attainment has no seeming obstacle in the American mind. The course of the United States as a litigant before international courts, or as an advocate of those at The Hague and elsewhere, has been a natural development from our federal experiment, and has appealed to ever wider support as the widening circles of an understanding public have come into existence.

To-day the United States is rising to its new emergencies less because of novel solutions than because its leaders are conscious of the lessons of its past. There are many factors which the teacher may develop to show the continuities between the United States as the head of a world crusade and the parochial federation that our fathers knew. But none, perhaps, will reveal the unity of history more convincingly than these three: our federal experience, the course of our social program, and our international ideal.

Italy and the Great War

BY PAUL V. B. JONES, PH.D., UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

Proportionally, all things considered, Italy's entrance into the Great War, aroused more interest, more intense feeling in the world at large, than the advent of any other belligerent to date, the United States excepted. Allied to the Central Powers, peculiarly to Austria, by the terms of an agreement first reached in 1882—since four times renewed—the last endorsement of the treaty, in 1912, engaging her until 1919 as a member of the Triple Alliance, Italy, notwithstanding, declared her neutrality immediately upon the outbreak of the war (August 3, 1914), and then, after nine months of indescribable tension and white heat excitement, on May 4, 1915, she notified Austria-Hungary that the treaty of alliance was at an end, completing the breach with a formal announcement of a state of war on May 23, 1915.

Officially, Austria-Hungary was "surprised and pained"—diplomatic parlance is so splendidly reserved. It took Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg to state forcefully the true sentiments of the Central Powers and proclaim the sure ruin of their perfidious ally, who, as he said, engaging in a "mad war," "had inscribed in the book of the world's history, in letters of blood which will never fade, her violation of faith."

Italy's steps, truly enough, bewildered many in the then neutral world, at least at first. Certainly there was a widespread feeling in America that the land of Machiavelli had lost none of her ancient cunning, that she had trimmed in a very clever, but withal in a very sordid way, yielding ultimately to the highest bidder, with no historical basis for several of her ambitious aims.

It is trite to observe that the time is not yet ripe to attempt to comprehend in their true perspective the dramatic events in Italy, working out there between the time of that black crime at Sarajevo and the Italian declaration of war. Never before, in connection with any momentous events has there been such a vast mass of historical material so quickly available as in the case of this world war. In fact, one of the most hopeful features in the whole awful tragedy is this strenuous effort made by all the nations concerned to explain, nay, to justify, their each and every action before mankind. Difficulties not-

withstanding then, it is instructive and interesting to attempt to get at the truth back of this or that development in the struggle.

What, then, in the light of information now available, is the explanation of Italy's procedure, culminating in her declaration of war against her late ally? In attempting to work out this complicated story one comes to feel a warm sympathy for those sincere old historians, who, to leave nothing untold, bravely began their narratives with a description of the serene Paul-and-Virginia-like existence of our first parents in the Garden or of the times certainly not later than the lumbering flight of the doughty Aeneas from flaming Troy. There are those, to be sure, silly enough to affirm that Italy's great problems at issue in the war, date from the arbitrary settlement of Europe after the Napoleonic regime, by the stand-pat exponents of the old regime; but, alas! no such sticky novelty as the ever memorable Congress of Vienna will ever suit your full-fledged fiery Irredentist as a first cause. One of the very many publications issuing from a Risorgimento press at Milan, the "Storia di Trieste," begins at the real root of the matter, with an account of the earliest settlement, probably legendary, of that famous region!

To come at once to the point. Italy is at war with the Central Powers, because, as she saw her situation, she could not logically, safely or sincerely be neutral longer, to say nothing of an alliance with them. Her policy from the beginning has been consistent, anything surely but capricious and unsteady, as her enemies have affirmed, and her evolution into war, slow but sure, nay, inevitable.

In the first place, Austria-Hungary formulated and presented her note to Serbia without consulting Italy, thereby, as Italy saw it, violating Articles 1 and 7 of the treaty of alliance, which call for previous negotiation with regard to any line of action to be taken by either nation in the Balkans. That move set Italy decidedly on edge. She never forgot it; in fact, later, she declared it to be her principal reason for abrogating the Triple Alliance. Immediately upon the publication of the note to Serbia, Italy was convinced that the Dual Monarchy's action was of

tremendous import as far as Italian welfare was concerned. The policy of her ally must upset the status quo in the Balkans; therefore, relying again upon her interpretation of Article 7 of the treaty of alliance, Italy at once claimed compensation.

Now Italy's action was the beginning of highly interesting negotiations very cleverly conducted by the diplomats of the two countries; negotiations strung out for nine months, principally by Austria-Hungary, it would appear from the documents themselves; each, however, blamed the other for the delay, but more of all this presently. In the meantime, however, came the swift ultimatums inducing the Great War, and demonstrating the truth of Italy's interpretation of the note to Servia. In the light of these circumstances, again invoking the terms of the alliance, she declared her neutrality. Her statesmen spoke in no uncertain terms. Thus, for example, the Marquis di San Giuliano, Italian Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on that fatal August 1: "The war undertaken by Austria and the consequences which might result, had, in the words of the German Ambassador himself, an aggressive object. Both were, therefore, in conflict with the purely defensive character of the Triple Alliance, and in such circumstances Italy would remain neutral." The statement of the Premier, Salandra, is equally clear. War menacing: "The Royal government of Rome investigated whether the terms of the treaties imposed upon Italy the obligation of engaging in the struggle, but the most scrupulous study of their letter and spirit, as well as their knowledge of the war, and the evident aims of the conflict led them to the loyal and firm conviction that they were in no wise obliged to participate." Italy gave Austria-Hungary to understand, however, that this neutrality was conditional, contingent, in fact, upon the latter's assent to her claim for compensation under article 7. And so it is a question again of this all-important matter of compensation; there lay the crux of the case as far as Italy was concerned.

The story of the negotiations is long and exceedingly interesting, but only a brief summary can be given here. At first Austria refused to hear anything whatever about compensation, declaring that Italy had entirely misinterpreted Article 7. Italy kept to her point steadfastly, however, and finally, under the influence of Germany, Austria most reluctantly agreed to yield in the matter. This was the real beginning of the negotiations, for now the all-important question arose—what should the compensation be? The diplomatic sparring became very clever, and despite the fearful import of it all, the story makes diverting reading.

Austria was perfectly willing to let some one else pay her bill. Italy deftly pointed out, however, that as she was neutral, she could not take compensation from any country but Austria without involving herself in the war—without breaking her neutrality. Furthermore, the compensation must *satisfy the national aspirations of the Italian people, must be of a nature to obviate future occasions for friction between the two countries, and must be made at once*, lest

Italy find herself confronted with a *fait accompli* in the Balkans. The Salandra ministry stood on this, but that was a small consideration, after all; not so, however, the stability of the Italian Royal House, which likewise was founded on nationalism.

Thus tortuously, Germany always alert and taking a hand directly when an impasse developed, the full Italian demands were set forth. Without going into details, the territory to be ceded was to include the following regions: the Trentino with the boundaries of 1811; an extended northeastern frontier which would include in Italian territory the two Austrian cities of Görz and Gradisca, the new line to hit the seacoast at Nabresina; the Curzola group of islands off the Dalmatian coast, including at least nine of the islands of the archipelago. In addition, Trieste, with a territory extended to include the land from the new Italian frontier to the town of Capodistria, was to become an autonomous independent state, Austria-Hungary renouncing all sovereignty over it. It was to be a free port, and was not to be entered by Austrian or Italian soldiers. Furthermore, Austria-Hungary was to give up all interest in Albania, agreeing to recognize Italy's full sovereignty over Valona, "together with such territory in the hinterland as may be required for their defense." Austria, while willing to make large concessions, was not able to meet the full Italian specifications, especially in regard to Trieste, and the provision stipulating that the compensation be effected at once; she played for time, tried counter proposals and eleventh hour offers, until Italy finally withdrew from consideration of any terms whatsoever. This was on May 3, 1915. Arrived at this tense stage, the alliance broken, a declaration of war was but formality. Italy went through the ceremony, as all the world knows, on May 23, 1915. She sought to secure by fighting what she had been unable to acquire through negotiation.

But what now is the meaning of all this story, and particularly what lies back of Italy's aspirations as seen through her negotiations and since then through her fighting. Reduced to lowest terms, about this, Austria and Italy, though allied officially since 1882, have been throughout those thirty odd years enemies at heart—foes to the death—for they are rivals; their assumed destinies conflict and must conflict unless this war resolve their antagonisms. In spirit and now in fact the Alliance has been an utter failure.

It is important to recall first what Italy endured at the hands of Austria from 1814 to 1859, when, by the reactionary work of the Congress of Vienna, the Hapsburgs came into possession of the fairest parts of the peninsula, and re-introduced forthwith the hateful oppression and shameful misrule of the old regime. The whole thrilling story of the Wars of Liberation is eloquent evidence of Italian feeling about the Austrians. Very interesting sidelights also, on the bitter enmity bred in Italian hearts against the domineering invaders may be found here and there in the writings of foreigners who well knew Italy and her people while they were under the yoke. English literati like Elizabeth Barrett Browning,

John Ruskin, and the irascible Walter Savage Landor comment again and again on the true state of affairs in the country. Ruskin published his "Stones of Venice" in 1851, and he had collected materials for the work in Italy, off and on, during the previous eighteen years. In his splendid essay on "St. Mark's" he writes, in part, as follows of the setting of the great old cathedral: "Round the whole square in front of the church, there is almost a continuous line of cafes, where the idle Venetians of the middle classes lounge, and read empty journals; in its centre the Austrian bands play during the time of vespers, their martial music jarring with the organ notes—the march drowning the *miserere*, and the sullen crowd thickening around them—a crowd, which, if it had its will, would stiletto every soldier that pipes to it." Landor shakes his mane and with characteristic subjective vehemence roars his denunciation of the crime done to Italy. "It appears to me," he writes in 1856, in his remarkable letter to Emerson, "that the worst calamity the world has ever undergone, is the prostration of Venice at the feet of Austria. The oldest and truest nobility in the world was swept away by Napoleon. How happily were the Venetian States governed for a thousand years, by the brave and circumspect gentlemen of the island city! All who did not conspire against its security were secure. Look at the palaces they erected! Look at the arts they cultivated! Look, on the other side, at the damp and decaying walls; enter, and there behold such countenances as you will never see elsewhere. These are not among the creatures whom God will permit any deluge to sweep away. Heretofore, a better race of beings has uniformly succeeded to a viler though a vaster; and it will be so again. Rise, Manin! rise, Garibaldi! rise, Mazzini! Compose your petty differences, quell your discordances, and stand united! Strike, and spare not; strike high. 'Miles, faciem feri,' cried the wisest and most valiant of the Roman race." Again, in the same brilliant piece, quoting a letter of his own to a Mr. White, Landor says: "Sir, I have only one hundred pounds of ready money, and am never likely to have at my disposal as much in future. Of this I transmit five to you, towards the acquisition of the ten thousand muskets to be given, in accordance with your manifesto, 'to the first Italian province which shall rise.' The remaining ninety-five I reserve for the family of the first patriot who asserts by action the dignity of tyrannicide. Abject men have cried out against me for my commendation of this ancient virtue, the highest of which a man is capable, and now the most important and urgent."

So much for an unhappy inheritance, a creaky foundation on which to rear an alliance like that one which the Italians felt constrained to enter in 1882, through the exigencies of their position—their threatened isolation amid the developing alignments of the other nations, their recent estrangement from their former ally, France, and the "splendid isolation" of England—in a word, all those political circumstances which are very well known.

But there were additional weighty causes for friction between these strange allies, who should have had only cordial feeling for one another once their pact was signed. In 1870, when, as a fitting climax to the wars of liberation, Rome was occupied by King Victor Emmanuel and his forces, his Majesty thus summed up the great work of Italian unification: "With Rome as the capital of Italy I have fulfilled my promise, and crowned the enterprise that, twenty-three years ago, was initiated under the auspices of my magnanimous Father. . . . Italy is free and united; it only depends on us to make her great and happy." No doubt the King was elated, and probably he spoke very sincerely. However that may have been, to many patriotic Italians then, as well as to-day, Italian unification was not complete. Not so long as the ancient enemy held lands where the language of Dante was the tongue of the great majority of the population—the case in the Trentino, as the Italians call the southern Tyrol, about the lower Isonzo, in Trieste, and along the coast of Istria.

Furthermore, while any process of unification like the Italian was going on so successfully, the question of limits naturally came up; how inclusive should the program of reclamation be? Patriots develop long memories under such a stimulating impulse, and any Italian with a modicum of education, well knew that in her palmy days the glorious Republic of Venice dominated the Adriatic with her hold on Trieste, Istria and the rugged Dalmatian coast, while an elect few, such is the abiding majesty of Imperial Rome, could span the vast gamut of the centuries and picture Italy as she had been two hundred and fifty years before Trent was a Bishop's capitol! As for the heirs of these pioneer heroes of unification, the modern Irredentists, their yearning horizon bounds the mist-lands of the prehistoric and Romulus and Remus live again!

Whatever its merits, irredentism has been a powerful force to conjure with since 1870, and its mighty import in 1914-1915 has been manifest through the diplomatic correspondence and Italy's war program, wherein the "national aspirations," so called, figured so prominently. Austria, too, by her well known policy of repression, with its vexatious, petty discriminations against her Italian population—fleabittings as old Bradford would have called them—has kept irredentism constantly to the fore, and student riots, assassins' plots—all the inevitable mean concomitants of such a policy—have so embittered these two mismatched countries, that on the eve of the sending of her ultimatum to Servia, Austria was so on tip-toe, lest her measures there arouse her ally, that she instructed her ambassador to Italy, telling him just how to ward that country off, should she prove keen enough at that stage of the proceedings to see which way the wind blew and sue Austria for compensations! So alert, too, was Austria with her diplomatic whists! hushes! and boos! whenever there was a hint from Italy, later on, as to the nature of her compensation, that it was many a moon before Baron Sonnino could get to name the Trentino even, say

nothing of the time it took him to link up Trieste with it. Each country knew perfectly well, of course, which were the moot lands.

And finally now, by way of explanation, irredentism has played the role it has as a most powerful factor making for war because it has become linked up with a greater cause. It would be ideal for the Italians to have back lands which were once a part of Italy, or to control lands now inhabited most largely by Italians, just because of these reasons. Italy feels that she must have such regions under her control, if she is to be safe against what she knows to be Austria's mounting ambitions. She is afraid of Austria, and as she sees it, she has every reason to be in that unhappy state of mind.

In the first place, her northern and northeastern frontiers are weak. The Trentino is a great well-fortified enclave thrust into northeastern Italy, on the Italian side of the Alps, while the Julian Alps frontier is still less satisfactory. The situation in that quarter has been well expressed by a trustworthy Italian writer who went over the ground there in 1915. "On the lower Isonzo," says he, "especially on the side of Gorizio and Monfalcone, I had to ask myself every moment where the frontier was. There is not a vestige of natural boundary there, not even a creek. From time to time a toll-gate, to be sure, with posts between which a chain might be slung, but all around open country—corn fields. Where did Italy end and Austrian territory begin? Between Cormons and San Giovanni di Manzano the tiny Judrio runs its course, truly enough, making a natural boundary, but elsewhere one's eyes searched in vain for such. The sight of this stretch of frontierless country gave me a very peculiar sensation. Nothing brought home to me more strongly the legitimacy of Italy's aspirations and the justness of our cause in this war."

Weak frontiers are bad enough, but that is far from the whole story. Italy is fearful of Austria's strong entrenchment on the Adriatic. Trieste is the finest harbor on that very long narrow sea, while below Trieste, Austrian territory runs down to Montenegro. The Dalmatian coast, furthermore, is high and rocky, at least as compared with the low-lying Italian shore, and with its fringe of islands, therefore, it gives to Austria the controlling position on the famous Sea of the Doges. Now under these circumstances, Italy, since her unification, has been keenly interested in the whole Balkan situation. In 1877, the Italian statesman, Crispi, said to Bismarck, "We Italians must be interested in the near Eastern question. If the great powers, under agreement, would formally renounce all conquest in the Balkans, and declare that any territory taken from Turkey should be left autonomous, we would enter no objection to those arrangements. It is stated, however, that Russia to attach Austria to herself, offers her Bosnia and Herzegovina. Italy can never permit Austria to occupy those territories. In 1866 Italy was left without a frontier in the eastern Alps; if now, Austria secures these provinces, which would further for-

tify her on the Adriatic, our country will then find itself more than ever exposed to an invasion. It will be in a trap." Every one knows how the Congress of Berlin (1878) treated unsuspecting Italy in this respect, by sanctioning Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Austria's annexation of those regions in 1908 by no means calmed Italy's irritated nerves.

Such are a few only of the outstanding evidences which make clear the essential hostility between Italy and her ally. Mention could be made of many other evidences—proofs of the mutual fear and conflicting interests of the two peoples, as, for instance, Austria's attitude toward Italy in the Italo-Turkish war of 1911—the Lybian war, as they call it—threatening Italy, at one stage of the conflict with the cancellation of the Triple Alliance. However, here is background enough, surely, to set off Italy's extreme anxiety, her "grave apprehension," as the Marquis di San Giuliano expressed it, when Austria was preparing to handle Serbia, and further in the grim sequence of events, this background also illustrates Italy's logical, inevitable line of action, as briefly surveyed here.

And now,¹ in conclusion, a few observations on the evolution of public opinion in Italy between the declaration of neutrality and her proclamation of war against Austria—the change which had to come, of course, if Italy joined the Allies. Under what circumstances, then, did the neutral majority of August, 1914, grow into the interventionist majority of May, 1915? Italy was certainly strongly neutral at the outbreak of the war, but it is equally true that the great majority of the population was conditionally neutral. Baron Sonnino pointed out this fact as early as December, 1914, when he expressed himself in part as follows to the Italian ambassador at Vienna: "I remarked to Prince von Bülow that the situation in Italy could be summed up in a few words; that the majority of the nation was in favor of the preservation of neutrality and ready to support the government in this, but only on the presupposition that by means of neutrality it should be possible to obtain the fulfillment of certain national aspirations." . . .

Conditional neutrality, furthermore, was strongly qualified, if reliance be placed on the word of a very well-informed Italian, writing in the most influential paper in the country—the *Corriere della Sera*, in January, 1915—"There isn't a person in Italy," says he, "not a soul, who believes that our army could march, at the order of the Minister of War, either to the right or to the left, against Carinthia or Savoy, with the indifference of a marksman, who seeing target No. 7 in bad condition, takes aim at target No. 8, or vice versa. Let us recollect that it was just this same way, the first of last August when war broke out. All you had to do then was to visit in the vi-

¹ From here on I am indebted to the excellent little work by Gabriel Maugain, "L'Opinion Italienne et L'Intervention de L'Italie Dans La Guerre Actuelle," for my facts.

cinity of Cadore, and the Val d'Aosta, comparing the talk you heard, I won't say the conversation of soldiers, but of the citizens, to become convinced of the fact that our neutrality was more the expression of a legal status than of our real feeling. Speak to a man of Cadore about the chances of war on the side of Austria and he would have assured you that they were as promising as the efforts of a fellow who should attempt to turn the Dolomites upside-down."

Again, if there were Italians, who in the bitter course of events were steadfastly neutral, there were never many who really favored breaking neutrality to fight on the side of the Central Powers; if there were any such, they kept very quiet! On the other hand, there was, from the commencement of hostilities, an ever-growing class of interventionists determined to join forces with the Entente.

Neutralists and interventionists, these two groups must be considered for the moment then, and either group, even on a cursory analysis is found to embrace all manner of sub-groups, with varying shades of opinion. In this respect, both are true to the amazing traditions of their amazing country, but it must be remembered that throughout the ages there ever have been very unique and forceful reasons for the perennial absence of uniformity in Italy. Just for one consideration, Italy alone has the Papacy in her midst, a state within a state, which vastly complicates most problems there.

A brief survey of Italian neutrals discloses the following situation: the socialists were very seriously divided; the official group, so-called, expressed great sympathy for France, but in a manifesto published in September, 1914, in their organ, *L'Avanti*, absolute neutrality was urged, and when Mussolini, their editor, evidenced leanings towards conditional neutrality, he was forthwith read out of the party and had to start a new paper of his own. The reformist socialists, on the other hand, preached intervention from the start.

If the socialists showed confusion in the ranks, the Catholics were even less unified in their opinions; one group only, out of three, however, stood for an inflexible neutrality; in the case of that group, furthermore, neutrality was highly qualified—they were very well disposed towards Austria, and so bitterly hostile towards France, that on one occasion a great French cleric, the Archbishop of Lyons, protested vigorously to the Vatican against the virulence of their lampoons. They cut French Catholics to the quick, for example, with some insulting caricatures of Jeanne d'Arc. Still other Catholics, like the democratic Christians, while neutral, could easily swing over to the Entente, to judge from a statement of some of their views, among which were the following: the reconstruction of a united independent Poland; guarantees, as strong as possible, for the independence of small nations, etc. The Catholic party, properly speaking, was in itself divided, a minority being at first conditionally neutral, which minority grew as time went on at the expense of the more numerous steadfast neutrals.

And finally, as must ever be the case where frail

humanity is concerned, a goodly number of Italians welcomed neutrality on purely personal grounds; thus many at the outbreak of the war found themselves the unfortunate victims of the German financial conquest of Italy—they were tiny cogs, perchance, in the heavy, powerful machinery of the Banca Commerciale, a great German institution, German-controlled, with an enormous hold on the country, handling as it did in 1914 alone, more than 800 millions of Italian money. Any number of Italian mercantile concerns flourished with the support of this banking institution, and with what a relief must the personnel in such houses have hailed neutrality! At least it afforded them a respite in which they could try to adjust themselves to the crisis.

With this class of neutrals must be ranked another unfortunate group—a large group too—those related by marriage to Germans and Austrians. In April, 1915, a former professor of the University of Turin, a man of note in his day, died from worry and over-exertion on behalf of the maintenance of Italian neutrality; he had three children, two sons and a daughter, all of whom were married to Germans, and war meant the disruption of the family. Death must have been right welcome to him! The same paper which reported this sad notice, contained the following in an issue several days later, apropos, probably, of these pitiful cases: "When you swear fidelity to a woman, you risk engaging yourself unawares against your country, and along with yourself, how many of your family?" There were only two members of the Italian Senate who did not arise and applaud when Premier Salandra appeared before that body to ask for full power preliminary to the declaration of war; one of the two was the brother-in-law of Prince von Bülow.

As diversified as the neutralist composite, furthermore, was the mass of argument which they set forth at first against joining forces with the Entente. What! cried many of the Catholics, aid and abet a cause fostered by heretics, schismatics and free-thinkers, a cause furthermore which, if we support it, is bound to curtail if it do not destroy the international power of the Pope, who should be freely in touch with the whole world, an impossibility if the ambassadors from the Central Powers are recalled!

Many again were afraid of the Entente, denounced as insatiably greedy. In much of their thinking is plainly reflected some of the old fear of France on this same score. England, too, they maintained, had a notorious reputation, and as evidence of their belief they cartooned John Bull battenning cynically on the sacrifices of all the other warring nations; they took troubled cognizance likewise of possible Russian aggrandisement in the Balkans, and fetched up with a round denunciation of this "colonial, nationalistic, militaristic movement so abroad in the world." Still others sought in vain, as they said, to find a cause for war against the Central Powers, and were entirely set against any war of aggression which had the Trentino and Trieste as its objectives. Despite the complex diversity of this group, however, the ma-

jority, as Baron Sonnino said, truly enough, were conditionally neutral.

As for the Interventionists, they too were recruited from many ranks; most of the political parties in Italy, for example, were represented among them—Socialists, as noted, Democrats, Nationalists, etc. Socially, their strongest contingent, without doubt, was organized amongst the Intellectuals—men like the historian Ferrero, and a brother historian of his, Salvemini, of the University of Pisa, the poet and dramatist d'Annunzio, university men, for the most part, and the universities were centres of the movement. The Interventionists met carefully all the arguments of the Neutralists, and then forged ahead in a positive way, presenting many arguments of their own on behalf of their cause.

Finally a brief consideration of some of the forces working to change majority neutralist into majority interventionist is in order. Without doubt it must be recognized that the greatest factor back of the changing public opinion was the failure of the Italian government to secure from Austria by diplomacy the compensation to which the country felt itself entitled; Italian national well-being, nay existence, hung on that security. However, there were other forces contributing their due impetus to the growing belligerency of the country, and among these two should be noted, which, without doubt, were the most important, namely, the impression made upon Italians by Germany's colossal blunder in Belgium, and their reaction to the ardent work of impassioned Irredentists like Gabriel d'Annunzio. Just a word in conclusion on these two influences.

The relentless terrible invasion of Belgium created a profound impression in Italy; at several great gatherings of the people—one of them a Garibaldi celebration—there were demonstrations with ardent expression of sympathy, shouts of "Long live Belgium," and the like. The press was crowded with innumerable articles about Belgium, some of them very eloquent. The following from the *Corriere della Sera* will perhaps convey some impression of their character: "Ah! poor Flanders! sweet, placid land, tranquil as the sleeping sea—land of canals, belfries and quiet, rich with holy traditions, virtuous, kindly, serene. In this old turbulent Europe where every people makes demands from its neighbors, there has been one country asking nothing—Flanders, modest, dreaming, restrained, content with its passive existence. And it is just against this Flanders that a war is loosed, the most unjust, the most monstrous, the most ferocious that the world has ever seen. The Flemings, leaving their homes in mournful caravans, are scattered, their homes are burning, their sanctuaries crumbling, nay, bit by bit their very country is being wiped out. Ah! poor Flanders! sweet, placid land!"

Nor was this windy oratory either. From all parts of Italy different organizations of the people—political, social—young Catholics, Socialists, and others, sent forth their manifestos, "orders of the day," and such like official pronouncements, expressing their sym-

pathy for Belgium, and their hopes and wishes for her complete restoration, or even stronger, their determination to see her righted. No man can measure the mighty influence of Belgium's tragedy on the souls of the high-strung Italian people.

And, finally, d'Annunzio, with his tireless energy, was typical of a large group of Italian intellectuals who put their best time, thought and action back of intervention, furthering it immensely. D'Annunzio was in France at the outbreak of the war, but his keenest interest was at once aroused, and his lively energies stimulated to work on behalf of Italian participation. His intense feeling is well reflected in a letter addressed to Arthur Meyer, editor of the *Gaulois*, dated September, 1914. In it the emotional Italian expresses the exaltation, the elation which the heroic French soldiers, whom he had visited at the front, inspired in him. The French are true to the noblest traditions of their race, he says, and forthwith he is led to reflect pityingly on the sad state of his own country. Italy, too, has had her heroes and her mighty past. One feels his passion to be able to say that she likewise is worthy of her rich inheritance.

From this time on, in his fervid, eloquent manner, d'Annunzio wrote and spoke for the great cause as he saw it. Before quitting France for his native land he addressed a gathering at a banquet in Paris, enthusiastically forecasting Italy's advent as a belligerent. "I announce to you my convictions," said he, "sure for me as the coming spring, sure as the progress of the sun into the sign of the Ram, of our entry into the war—that war which I have preached for the last twenty-five years. I am regarded here, and regard myself as a hostage, a voluntary hostage for the holding of an ideal pact. This hostage shall not be returned except through what our ancestors called the *fœdus ferire*, except through the hurling of the Roman javelin dipped in blood. . . . France to-day is not only the champion of Latin liberty, she is the champion of world liberty, and this must be proclaimed far and wide, and incessantly repeated. Who, then, should be shoulder to shoulder with her, but her elder sister—in arms not alone for the honor of Latin peoples, to recover land which were a part of the tenth Italian Region of Augustus, to recover and rule the Sea of the Doges, the possession of which is as essential to her as the control of the passes of the Alps, but in arms also, finally, to attain through territorial unity, her true unity of conscience and power. I repeat it to you, this shall be achieved to-morrow, and to-day, now, I have the intoxicating assurance of it, and truly, my brothers, the most glorious dawn has not yet broken."

D'Annunzio left France for Italy to act as chief orator of the day at the festival of the Quarto, held in honor of the famous "Thousand." From every aspect here was to be a terrific conjunction of forces. The poet was the very leader for whom many Italians had been longing, and probably the reception accorded him everywhere in his native land upon his return, could have been conceived and carried out only

by Italians. His arrival in Italy was coincident with the breaking of the Triple Alliance treaty, and it certainly fittingly climaxed the intense excitement of the people. Everywhere the entire population was out en masse to greet their magnetic countryman, the mouthpiece of all their emotions. At Rome, for example, 150,000 people were at the depot, who went wild with enthusiasm as their hero was carried from the train to his carriage on the shoulders of a couple of brimming patriots. Here, as elsewhere, there were flowers in profusion, lanterns, torches, enthusiastic acclamations, and above all—the returned d'Annunzio's remarkable speeches. The following is a very short excerpt from one of his vigorous spontaneous orations, said to be in the poet's best vein. It was delivered before the professors and students, and directly to the latter, at the University of Genoa, where d'Annunzio had been presented with a gold plaque: "If it is true, as I swear it is, that the Italians have rekindled the fire on the altar of Italy, seize brands from that fire, blow upon them, hold them aloft, brandish them wherever you may go; scatter abroad

the fires of war, my young companions, be dauntless incendiaries on behalf of a greater fatherland. Hence! obey! cried the priest of Mars to the consecrated youth. You, too, are the seed of a new world. Hence! be ever ready and obey! I tell you this because you make me worthy to consecrate you; because you are the bright sparks from the sacred fire. Spread that fire; make every soul in the land glow with it, till all voices shall shout in burning unison, Italy! Italy!"

D'Annunzio came back to his native land at that most critical juncture when neutrality and war were in delicate balance, and probably it will never be possible to estimate his achievement on behalf of war, any more than it will be possible to measure the full influence on the Italians exercised by the invasion of Belgium. When the time shall be propitious, however, and the whole story shall be told these great forces must be weighed with the able work of the Italian government in explaining the development of Italy's momentous decision to war.

Hazen's Alsace-Lorraine Under German Rule¹

BY FRANK MALOY ANDERSON, DARTMOUTH COLLEGE.

When the war began in 1914 comparatively few Americans had any realizing sense of the large influence which the Alsace-Lorraine question had exerted in bringing about the war. Public attention was concentrated on the rivalry of the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, the Morocco crises, the Bagdad Railway, the Balkan problem, the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia, and other diplomatic controversies of comparatively recent date.

It was only by slow stages and in imperfect measure that Americans became familiar with the fact that back of all these influences, and itself a big influence in producing them, lay the problem of Alsace-Lorraine. Even when this fact became widely appreciated, there still remained a great number who failed to realize the full measure of the importance of the Alsace-Lorraine question as a cause of the war and as a problem which must be rightly settled at the end of the war, if a just and enduring peace is to be obtained. Some of these were probably surprised when President Wilson in his War Aims Address to Congress on January 18 declared that "the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all." For any who may have shared that surprise and for those who desire a conclusive argu-

ment in support of the American position as defined by President Wilson, Professor Hazen's book supplies exactly the needful thing. It ought to be read and pondered by every American teacher.

One of the strongest and most serviceable features of the book is its explanation of the process by which France got Alsace-Lorraine and made it French, since there has been much misconception upon that point and many otherwise well informed persons have been under the impression that the forcible annexation of Alsace-Lorraine by Germany in 1871 was simply a belated reparation for an old injury against Germany committed by France. Without in the least seeking to excuse the selfish aims of Richelieu and Louis XIV Professor Hazen shows conclusively that in the acquisition of Alsace-Lorraine by France there was no such outrage against German nationality as was committed by Germany against French nationality in 1871. Nearly all of Alsace-Lorraine was acquired by France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Despite its German speech and German blood, the bond which connected Alsace-Lorraine with sixteenth and seventeenth century Germany was very feeble. Moreover, Germany of that day lacked the essential attributes of nationality. While much might be said against the taking of Alsace-Lorraine by France from the standpoint of the inhabitants of those provinces, if they really objected to it, there was in the act no grievous injury to German nationality. But the people of Alsace-Lorraine, if they ever seriously objected to the change, were soon reconciled by the conciliatory policy of France. The little that was still needful to make them completely French was supplied by

¹ "Alsace-Lorraine Under German Rule" (Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1917), by Professor Charles Downer Hazen, of Columbia University, is one of the best war books yet produced.

the French Revolution. From that great transformation Alsace-Lorraine emerged in mind and heart as thoroughly French as Paris itself.

Professor Hazen analyzes acutely the excuses put forward by Germany in 1871 to justify its taking of Alsace-Lorraine. Four reasons were advanced: First, the historical argument, that they were German provinces wrested by France from Germany by conquest; second, the linguistic argument, that the inhabitants were Germans because they spoke German; third, the punishment argument, that the taking of the provinces was simply well deserved punishment upon France for bringing about the Franco-Prussian war; fourth, the military argument, that Germany needed Alsace-Lorraine to defend itself against future French attacks, and that there was no possible danger for France in the possession of the provinces by Germany, for Germany would never think of attacking France. Strange as it may seem to-day these arguments were accepted and earnestly repeated by many English and American scholars and publicists in 1871. If space permitted it would be easy to quote many expressions from leaders of opinion of that day showing that the German arguments were accepted without serious question as to their validity.

Professor Hazen shows that none of these arguments was valid. The real reason was the desire for military advantage. Doubtless the Germans were sincere in their oft-expressed belief that the Alsatians would soon become good Germans. That the belief was unwarranted and that the Germans were either unable or unwilling to pursue a policy toward Alsace-Lorraine which would bring about that result Professor Hazen proves by abundant evidence. In his skilful hands the harshness of German rule in Alsace-Lorraine is portrayed in its true colors.

After forty years of German rule, made additionally irksome by the arrogance of the officials, mostly Prussians, through whom it was administered, a pretense was made of conceding to the inhabitants the right of self-government. This was the Alsatian Constitution of 1911—Professor Hazen shows that it was a fraud. The lower house of the local legislature was to be elected by secret ballot and practically by universal suffrage, but that body was to be balanced by an upper house in which the German government would always be assured of a majority. Control over the budget was granted, but the grant was made illusory by a provision that if it should refuse to vote the budget, taxes might be levied and expenses incurred on the basis of the preceding budget. The executive power was left in the hands of the Statthalter, appointed by the Emperor and responsible to him alone. Three votes in the Bundesrath were granted to Alsace-Lorraine, but the delegates who cast them were to receive their instructions from the Statthalter and must vote as he directed.

On the eve of the war the famous Zabern, or Saverne, affair again drew the attention of all Europe to the Alsace-Lorraine question. The arrogance of a young Prussian officer stationed in Alsace became the immediate occasion for a controversy which

speedily involved all Germany and vividly revealed the whole philosophy and practice of the German government. The story of the affair is told in considerable detail and its significance pointed out, for, as Professor Hazen remarks: "At issue were militarism versus law, violence versus reason, despotism versus liberty, Prussia versus Germany, and in each case the former won."

An eloquent and moving appeal for the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France as an act of justice to the Alsatians and to France and as an indispensable feature of an enduring peace brings the book to a fitting conclusion.

Some scholars for whom the Alpha and Omega of scholarship is restrained expression, a certain judicial pose which forbids any indication of personal sympathies, may take exception to the general tone of the book, and to some of the terms Professor Hazen employs to characterize the methods of Germany. Still others may wish that milder terms had been used, for fear that the argument may lose some of its force by creating a suspicion of undue partizanship. For myself I rejoice that the book is just as it has been written. It is the truth about Alsace-Lorraine. Anything less severe in its condemnation of German rule there would have failed to make plain why the wrong done in 1871 must be righted by the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France.

In this book and in his remarkably penetrating analysis of the real character of the German government, recently published in pamphlet form by the Committee on Public Information, Professor Hazen has contributed powerful support to establish the justice of our cause in the great conflict against the evil forces of Germany.

CURRENT PERIODICAL ARTICLES ON THE TEACHING OF HISTORY.

BY W. L. HALL, SUBLIBRARIAN IN HISTORY, NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY.

American Review of Reviews. Scholarship department. History teachers' service, May, 1918. [A monthly syllabus of material in the *American Review of Reviews*: History and economics teachers' service, by T. C. Trask; History and civics teachers' service, by A. C. Bryan.]

Gathany, J. Madison. Weekly outline study of current history. *The Outlook*.

Scott, Jonathan F. History teaching and international friendship. *The Nation*, CVI (Section II, Spring educational number, May 4, 1918), 537-538.

The Texas history teachers' bulletin, Vol. 6, No. 2 (*University of Texas Bulletin*, No. 1810, February 15, 1918).

The article on "International Law," by Moorhouse Q. X. Millar, S. J. (*Catholic World* for April), is a historical survey of this subject rather than an analysis of the present situation.

"Japan's Proposed Entry Into Siberia—An Invasion or a Rescue?" (*Current Opinion* for April) is not in the least conclusive, but it marshals together most of the information available on this move.

Documents Relating to France and Certain War Issues

ARRANGED BY WALDO G. LELAND, PH.D.

PREPARED IN CO-OPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE.

The small group of documents here printed is designed to illustrate certain aspects of the war as they relate to France, and especially to make clear how vital to the very existence of France are the issues of the war.

When President Wilson, in his address to Congress of January 8, 1918, laid down "the program of the world's peace," he stated with regard to France: "All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all."

Americans have not sufficiently realized the enormity or significance of the "wrong done to France . . . in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine." German propaganda has endeavored to represent the theft of the two provinces as a restoration to Germany of territory unjustly taken from it by France in earlier times, whereas historically, the German Empire of 1871 had not the slightest claim to either Alsace or Lorraine.

Documents I, II, and III illustrate the attitude of the Alsations and Lorrainers toward the transfer of themselves and their land. When the French National Assembly met at Bordeaux in February, 1871, to conclude a peace with the German Empire, the representatives of Alsace and Lorraine declared in the most vehement terms their protest against the cession which was demanded by Germany. Later, when the cession had actually been negotiated, the same representatives, in withdrawing from the Assembly, renewed their protest and declared "null and void a compact which disposes of us without our consent." (No. II.)

Three years later, the fifteen representatives of Alsace and Lorraine elected to the German Reichstag protested once more, this time to their conquerors, against the seizure of the provinces. (No. III.) Since that time the peoples of Alsace and Lorraine have constantly indicated, in countless ways, their unwillingness to accept as final the act of 1871. For forty years the Germans have treated them as conquered peoples, endeavoring to Germanize them by force, to compel a loyalty which had no basis in tradition, in historical fact, or in actual conditions.

Although Germans have accused France of plotting revenge ever since 1871, there is not the slightest ground for believing that at any time within the last fifteen years would any French government have been willing even to contemplate a general war for the sake of redressing the injury of 1871. But when the war was forced on France in 1914, the restoration of Al-

sace and Lorraine at once became, for the French, one of the most vital issues of the conflict, an issue all the more vital because it was so highly symbolic of the very nature of the struggle. In September, 1917, the French government made a declaration of its war aims in the Chamber of Deputies, in which the issue of Alsace-Lorraine naturally received the most prominent place. (No. IV.) The nature of this issue was again clearly set forth in the declaration of the inter-allied Labor-Social Conference held in London in February of the present year. (No. V.)

The German aims with regard to France are set forth in documents VI to IX. No. VI is a petition signed by the League of Agriculturists, the German Peasant League, the Westphalian Peasant Society, the Central Association of German Industrialists, the League of Industrialists, and the German Middle-Class Association, and may be taken to represent fairly the views of German agriculture and industry. The extracts here printed are those relating to France. The argument of the petition is developed still further by Professor Hermann Schumacher, professor of political economy in the University of Bonn. (No. VII.) Both of these documents, which represent responsible and influential German opinion, urge that Germany must secure all of the coal and iron deposits of Northern France and Belgium. It is pointed out that without the Lorraine deposits secured in 1871 Germany could not have prepared for the present war, and that without the Longwy and Briey deposits, which were seized in August, 1914, Germany could not have carried on the war successfully for any length of time. Hence, all this mineral wealth must henceforth be Germany's so that she may adequately prepare for the next war. These views are confirmed in No. VIII, a secret document coming from the German imperial government itself.

The petition of the professors (No. IX) is one of the most vindictive and violent presentations of the German view; it is especially significant when one remembers the influence of the "intellectuals" upon German opinion, and that the petition is signed by 1,352 men, including 352 professors, 158 educators and clergymen, 145 administrative officials, 182 business men, 252 artists, writers, etc. Among the professors of history signing it are Friedrich Meinecke, Hermann Oncken, and Dietrich Schäfer.

I.

DECLARATION OF BORDEAUX,¹ FEBRUARY 16, 1871.

We, the undersigned, French citizens chosen and deputed by the Departments of the Lower Rhine, Upper Rhine, Moselle, Meurthe, and the Vosges, to

¹ *Current History*, XII, 265.

bring to the National Assembly of France the expression of the unanimous will of the populations of Alsace and Lorraine, after having met and deliberated, have resolved to proclaim in a solemn declaration their sacred and unalterable rights in order that the National Assembly, France, and Europe, having under their eyes the prayers and the resolutions of our constituents, can neither commit nor allow to be committed any act that shall attain the rights whose guardianship and defense have been intrusted to us by formal mandate.

DECLARATION.

I.—Alsace and Lorraine do not wish to be alienated. Associated for more than two centuries with France in both good and ill fortune, these two provinces, ceaselessly exposed to the blows of the enemy, have constantly sacrificed themselves for the national welfare; they have sealed with their blood the indissoluble pact that binds them to a united France. Made the subject of dispute to-day by the pretensions of a foreign aggressor, they affirm in the face of all obstacles and all dangers, under the very yoke of the invader, their unshakable fidelity.

In full unanimity the citizens who remained in their homes, like the soldiers who rallied to the flag, the former by voting, the latter by fighting, have made known to Germany and to the world the immovable will of Alsace and Lorraine to remain French territory.

II.—France can neither consent to nor sign the cession of Alsace and Lorraine.

She cannot, without imperiling her national existence, deal a mortal blow at her own unity by abandoning those who have acquired by two hundred years of patriotic devotion the right to be defended by the whole country against the aggressions of victorious force.

An assembly, even though a product of universal suffrage, could not invoke its sovereignty to cover or ratify exactions destructive of the national integrity; it would be arrogating to itself a right which does not belong even to a people united in its legislative functions. Such an excess of power, whose effect would be to mutilate the mother community, would expose those guilty of it to the just denunciation of history. France can endure the blows of brute force; she cannot sanction its decrees.

III.—Europe can neither permit nor ratify the abandonment of Alsace and Lorraine.

Guardians of the rules of justice and international law, the civilized nations could not long remain insensible to the fate of their neighbor, under pain of being, in their turn, victims of the aggression which they had tolerated. Modern Europe cannot allow a people to be seized like a wretched herd; it cannot remain deaf to the repeated protests of the threatened communities; it owes it to its own safety to forbid such abuses of force. It knows, besides, that the unity of France is to-day, as in the past, a guaranty of the general order of the world, a barrier against

the spirit of conquest and invasion. Peace made at the price of a cession of territory would only be a ruinous truce and not a definitive peace. It would be for all a cause of internal agitation, of legitimate and permanent provocation throughout the earth.

In brief, Alsace and Lorraine protest highly against all cession; France cannot consent to it, Europe cannot sanction it.

In support of this we call upon our fellow-citizens of France, and upon the Governments and nations of the whole world, to witness that in advance we hold null and void all acts and treaties, votes or plebiscites, which shall consent to abandoning to the stranger all or part of our provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.

We proclaim by these presents forever inviolable the right of citizens of Alsace and Lorraine to remain members of the French nation, and we swear, both for ourselves and for those we represent, likewise for our children and their descendants, to claim it eternally by all ways and means and against all usurpers.

II.

PROTEST OF REPRESENTATIVES OF ALSACE AND LORRAINE ON MARCH 1, 1871, AFTER THE RATIFICATION OF THE PRELIMINARIES OF PEACE.²

The representatives of Alsace and Lorraine submitted to the Assembly, before peace negotiations were begun, a declaration affirming in the most formal way, in the name of the two provinces, their will and their right to remain French.

Handed over, in contempt of all justice and by an odious abuse of force, to the domination of foreigners, we now have a final duty to perform.

We declare once more null and void a compact which disposes of us without our consent.

Henceforth and forever each and every one of us will be completely justified in demanding our rights in whatever way and manner our consciences may approve.

At the moment of leaving the chamber where our dignity no longer permits us to sit, and in spite of the bitterness of our grief, the supreme thought which we find at the bottom of our hearts is a thought of gratitude to those who, for six months, have not ceased to fight in our defense, and our unalterable attachment to France from which we are torn by violence.

We shall follow you with our wishes and we shall await with entire confidence in the future, the resumption by a regenerated France of the course of her great destiny.

Your brothers of Alsace and Lorraine, now cut off from the common family, will preserve for France, absent from their hearths, a filial affection until the day when she shall resume her rightful place there once more.

² C. D. Hazen, "Alsace-Lorraine Under German Rule," pp. 13-15.

III.

PROTEST OF THE FIFTEEN DEPUTIES OF ALSACE-
LORRAINE IN THE REICHSTAG, FEBRUARY
18, 1874.³

The people of Alsace-Lorraine, whom we represent in the Reichstag, have entrusted us with a special and very weighty mission, which we wish to discharge at once. They have charged us with expressing to you their thought in regard to the change of nationality which has been violently imposed upon them as a result of your war with France.

Your last war, which ended to the advantage of your nation, gave it incontestably the right to reparation. But Germany has exceeded her right as a civilized nation in forcing conquered France to sacrifice a million and a half of her children.

If, in times remote and comparatively barbarous, the right of conquest has sometimes been transformed into effective right; if, even to-day, it is pardoned when exercised on ignorant and savage peoples, nothing of this sort can be applied to Alsace-Lorraine. It is at the end of the nineteenth century, of a century of light and progress, that Germany conquers us, and the people whom she has reduced to slavery—for annexation without our consent is for us a veritable moral slavery—this people is one of the best of Europe, perhaps the people which is most devoted to the sentiment of right and justice.

Do you argue that the treaty ceding to you our territory and its inhabitants was concluded regularly and in due form? But reason, no less than the most ordinary principles of right, declares that such a treaty cannot be valid. Citizens, possessed of souls and of intelligence, are not merchandise to be traded and therefore it is not lawful to make them the subject of a contract. Moreover, even admitting—that we do not admit—that France had the right to cede us, the compact which you cite against us possesses no validity. A contract is only valid when it represents the free will of the contracting parties. Now it was only when the knife was at her throat, that France, bleeding and exhausted, signed the treaty abandoning us. She was not free, she yielded only to force, and our codes of law inform us that violence nullifies any agreements tainted by it.

To give an appearance of legality to the cession of Alsace-Lorraine, the least that you ought to have done would have been to submit that cession to the ratification of the people ceded.

A celebrated jurist, Professor Bluntschli, of Heidelberg, in his *International Law* (page 285), says: "In order that a cession of land be valid, the recognition by the people inhabiting the land ceded and in the possession of political rights is necessary. This recognition can never be omitted or suppressed, because peoples are not things without rights or wills of their own, whose property may be disposed of by others."

You see, gentlemen, that we find nothing in the

³ C. D. Hazen, "Alsace-Lorraine Under German Rule," pp. 15-18.

teachings of morality and justice, absolutely nothing, which can pardon our annexation to your empire; and in this our reasons are in harmony with our sentiments. Our hearts are, in fact, irresistibly attracted toward our French fatherland. Two centuries of life and of thought together create, between the members of the same family, a sacred bond which no argument and much less any act of violence can destroy.

By choosing us, feeling as we all do, our electors have above everything else desired to affirm their sympathy for their French fatherland and their right to dispose of themselves.

IV.

DECLARATION BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT IN THE
CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, SEPTEMBER 18, 1917,
RESPECTING ALSACE-LORRAINE.⁴

No enemy manœuvre, no individual weaknesses can turn France from her unshakable determination. That determination she draws from the purest traditions of our race—those generous principles of liberty which the Revolution sowed among the peoples, and which to-day bring together the civilized universe against German imperialism. If France pursues this war it is neither for conquest nor vengeance. It is to defend her own liberty, her independence, and at the same time the liberty and independence of the world. Her claims are those of right; they are even independent of the issue of battles. She proclaimed them solemnly in 1871 when she was beaten. She proclaims them to-day when she is making the aggressor feel the weight of her arms.

The disannexation of Alsace-Lorraine, reparation for the damage and ruin wrought by the enemy, and a peace which shall not be a peace of constraint or violence, containing in itself the germ of future wars, but a just peace, in which no people, whether strong or weak, shall be oppressed, a peace in which effective guarantees shall protect the society of nations against all aggression on the part of one among them—these are the noble war aims of France, if one can speak of war aims when it is a question of a nation which, during forty-four years, despite her open wounds, has done everything in order to spare humanity the horrors of war.

As long as these aims are not reached France will continue to fight. To prolong the war one day more than necessary would indeed be to commit the greatest crime in history, but to stop it a day too soon would be to deliver France into the most degrading servitude, to a moral and material misery from which nothing would ever deliver her.

V.

DECLARATION OF THE INTERALLIED LABOR-SOCIALIST
CONFERENCE IN LONDON, FEBRUARY 21-23,
1918.⁵

The conference declares that the problem of Alsace and Lorraine is not one of territorial adjustment, but one of right, and thus an international problem the

⁴ *Current History*, November, 1917.

⁵ *Current History*, April, 1918.

solution of which is indispensable if peace is to be either just or lasting.

The Treaty of Frankfurt at one and the same time mutilated France and violated the right of the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine to dispose of their own destinies, a right which they have repeatedly claimed.

The new treaty of peace, in recognizing that Germany, by her declaration of war of 1914, has herself broken the Treaty of Frankfurt, will make null and void the gains of a brutal conquest and of the violence committed against the people.

France, having secured this recognition, can properly agree to a fresh consultation of the population of Alsace and Lorraine as to its own desires.

The treaty of peace will bear the signatures of every nation in the world. It will be guaranteed by the League of Nations. To this League of Nations France is prepared to remit, with the freedom and sincerity of a popular vote, of which the details can be subsequently settled, the organization of such a consultation as shall settle forever, as a matter of right, the future destiny of Alsace and Lorraine, and as shall finally remove from the common life of all Europe a quarrel which has imposed so heavy a burden upon it.

VI.

PETITION TO THE IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR BY THE SIX GREAT ECONOMIC ASSOCIATIONS.⁶

Berlin, May 20, 1915.

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

Together with the whole German people, the German men of business engaged in agriculture, the manufacturing industries, commerce and trade, are firmly determined to persevere in the struggle for life or death which has been forced upon our country. They will persevere to the last, and at whatever cost, so that Germany may issue from the struggle externally stronger, and that it may possess the guarantee of a lasting peace and the guarantee of an assured national economic and cultural development. . . .

The detailed demands which must be fulfilled in the opinion of the signatories, should they be militarily obtainable, and which are necessary to strengthen Germany politically, militarily, and economically to such a degree that the country can with confidence look forward into the future, have been given in the petition adjoined which has been placed before your Excellency on March 10 of this year by the League of Agriculturists, by the German Peasant League, by the Central Association of German Industrialists, by the League of Industrialists, and by the German Middle-Class Association. Since then the Christian German Peasant Associations have joined the associations named. The petition before mentioned was worded as follows:

"The undersigned associations have considered the question how to carry out the demand which has so

frequently been made during the last few months, that the present war should be followed by an honorable peace, by a peace which corresponds with the sacrifices made, and which will be secure and lasting. . . .

"As regards France. For the reasons given above, with regard to Germany's relations to England, the possession of the French shore and coast districts up to the Somme must be considered as a question of life or death for Germany's future position on the sea, for we must have access to the Atlantic. The Hinterland, which would have to be acquired at the same time, must secure the fullest economic and strategic exploitation of the newly acquired Channel ports. All further acquisitions of French territory must be exclusively based upon military and strategic considerations. The acquisition of the mining district of Briey will, however, form an exception to the principle indicated. In view of the experiences of the present war, it may be considered a matter of course that we can never again expose our frontiers to hostile invasion. We can, therefore, in particular, not allow our opponents to retain Verdun and Belfort and the western slopes of the Vosges which lie between these two points. By acquiring the line of the Meuse and the French coast of the Channel, Germany would obtain not only the ore deposits of Briey, which have already been mentioned, but also the coal districts of the Department du Nord and of the Department Pas-de-Calais.

"In view of the experiences made in Alsace-Lorraine, it may be considered a matter of course that the population of the annexed French territory will not be allowed to obtain political influence in Germany, and that here also the important economic factors, including large and medium-sized properties, will be placed into German hands, while France should undertake to receive and to indemnify the original owners. . . ."

It is necessary to supplement the petition given in the foregoing. It should expressly be pointed out that the political, military, and economic aims which the German nation has in view in order to safeguard its future are closely interconnected, and cannot be treated separately. In the first place, it is clear that success in obtaining our great political aims depends on the efficacy and success of the German armies. However, the experience of the present war teaches us that in the last resort Germany's military successes and the exploitation of our victories to the fullest extent depend on the economic strength and efficiency of the German nation. Had Germany's agriculture not been able to feed the people, despite all the efforts of our enemies to starve us, had not the German manufacturing industries, German inventiveness, and German technical skill been able to maintain our independence from foreign countries, we should at last be defeated, notwithstanding the glorious successes of our victorious troops, and possibly we would by now have been vanquished.

It follows that our demands which, at first sight, seem to be dictated by purely economic motives, must

⁶ S. Grumbach, "Germany's Annexationist Aims," pp. 25-37.

be considered from a larger point of view. They spring from the necessity of increasing Germany's national and military power to the utmost. Our demands must, therefore, be considered from the military point of view. This is particularly the case with regard to the acquisition of agricultural territory upon which stress has been laid in the petition, and with regard to the seizure of the ore-bearing territories of the Meurthe and Moselle, and of the French coal districts of the Departments du Nord and Pas-de-Calais, and the Belgian coal districts.

The acquisition of adequate lands suitable for agricultural colonization is indispensable not only with a view to broadening the basis to Germany's national economy. It is necessary not only in order to maintain the happy balance of Germany's national economy, the importance of which the present war has plainly disclosed, but also in order to secure the powerful stream of national strength, and of man-power which is provided by a mighty agriculture. This is particularly necessary if we wish to increase the number of the people and thereby Germany's military strength.

Acquisitions in the ore and iron districts mentioned are required not only by our economic interests, but also by military necessity. That will appear clearly from the following details:

Since August, 1914, Germany's production of raw iron has increased gain to nearly 1,000,000 tons per month, or has approximately doubled, and Germany's steel production has increased to more than 1,000,000 tons per month. Nevertheless, iron and steel are not abundant, but are scarce in Germany, and are still more scarce in neutral countries. The German shell works require quantities of iron and steel, which formerly would have been considered incredible. For cast grey shells alone, which are an inferior substitute for drawn shells and steel shells, at least 4,000 tons of raw iron have been used every day during the last few months. At the moment, the exact figures cannot be given. However, it is certain that the continuation of the war would have been impossible had the German iron and steel production not been doubled since August, 1914.

The basis of the German iron and steel production is minette ore, the preponderant importance of which is constantly increasing. This ore alone can be obtained in rapidly increasing quantities within Germany's frontiers. The production of the other German iron districts is very limited, and the importation of iron ore from overseas, even from Sweden, has become so difficult that at many works, even those outside the Luxemburg-Lorraine district, minette ore furnishes from 60 to 80 per cent. of the iron and steel produced. It follows that the war would be as good as lost, should the production of minette ore be interfered with.

How does the production of minette ore stand in the present war, and how would it stand in a future war?

If the fortress of Longwy and the numerous French furnaces in the neighborhood should be given back to

the French, France would be able in a new war to destroy from Longwy, the following iron works in Germany or Luxemburg in a few hours by means of long-distance gun-fire:

	Kilometres distance from Longwy
Rodingen	7
Differdingen	10
Esch	16 to 17
Oettingen	21
Rümelingen	21
Düdelingen	25

Thus, approximately 20 per cent. of the German raw iron and steel production could be eliminated by France acting from Longwy.

A glance at the map shows further that Jarny, the minette mine of the Phœnix Company, is situated at a distance of from 13 to 15 kilometres from Verdun, and that the western ore concessions near Landres and Conflans are no farther than 26 kilometres from Verdun. To-day we bombard Dunkirk from a distance of 38 kilometres. Can any one believe that the French would in the next war abstain from putting long-distance guns into Longwy and Verdun, in order not to disturb Germany's ore production and iron industry?

In passing, it should be said that only the vast production of steel from minette ore enables Germany to provide agriculture with the necessary phosphoric acid since the importation of phosphates has come to an end.

Germany's security in a future war urges us compellingly to acquire the whole of the minette territories, including the fortresses of Longwy and Verdun, for without their possession the district described cannot be held.

The possession of vast supplies of coal, and particularly of coal rich in bitumen, such as that which is found in Northern France, is at least as decisive for the issue of the war as is the possession of iron ore. Belgium and Northern France together produce more than 40,000,000 tons of coal per annum. Besides, coal is nowadays one of the determining political factors. That may be seen by the English coal export prohibition of May 15. The industrial neutral nations must act in accordance with the will of that combatant Power which can guarantee to them the necessary supply of coal. Germany can at present not provide the coal required. Hence we are compelled to make use of Belgium's coal production, for otherwise our neutral neighbors would fall entirely under England's control. It is very probable that the deliberate expansion of the Belgian coal production has been of the greatest importance, that it has induced several of Germany's neighbor States to maintain their neutrality.

It is generally known that our most important explosives are derived from coal, their constituents being obtained during the coking process, and that coal is important also for the production of ammonia. Coal can provide us with benzol, the only product with which we can replace the benzine which we lack.

Lastly, coal furnishes us with tar, which can be converted into oil fuel, which is indispensable for naval purposes, and into lubricants. It should be pointed out that the large expansion of our torpedo-boat flotilla and of our submarine arm is impossible unless we have a vast supply of liquid fuel. The course of the present war has demonstrated the superiority of oil fuel over coal in the case of torpedo-boats, and its advantages are so striking that it would be criminal levity to disregard the lesson in the future. If our enemies secure for themselves oil-wells abroad, Germany must take care to obtain the necessary gas coal at home. In time of peace she must provide an inexhaustible supply of oil, benzol, toluol, ammonia, and naphthaline, not only in order to increase the national prosperity, but also because their possession is an indispensable part of Germany's armament for war.

In summing up, we would say that the war aims indicated will secure permanently Germany's national economy, and at the same time guarantee her military strength and her political independence and power. In addition, they will expand Germany's economic opportunities. They will provide work for the workers, and will therefore be of advantage to labor as a whole.

VII.

PROFESSOR SCHUMACHER, IN LECTURE OF JUNE 20, 1915, PRINTED AS A PAMPHLET.⁷

The whole western frontier of Germany, from south to north, must be improved as far as circumstances permit. It is no less important to provide for the German war industries upon which successful warfare must be based. We must protect these against the danger of destruction with all our power. Our frontier must so be drawn that the great iron-works of Lorraine, which at present are indispensable for producing our war material, and which will be still more indispensable to us in the future, will be beyond the reach of modern long-distance guns in the French fortresses. Before all, we must secure for Germany the possession of the raw materials necessary for the war industries, and at the same time deprive our enemies of the possession of these.

The iron deposits are most important. Without the minette ore of Lorraine we cannot maintain our iron and steel production on a scale sufficiently large for the conduct of the war. Happily, we can boast of the possession of the largest iron deposits in Europe. These we have obtained in consequence of the victorious war of 1870-1871. The Peace of Frankfurt was to give Germany the entire iron ore deposits of Lorraine. We did not succeed in getting them because the geologists, whom Bismarck consulted at the time when the frontier was delimited, made a mistake. Since the eighties we know that the larger portion of the ore deposits of the plateau of Briey has been left to France, though Bismarck imagined that the bulk of the iron ore had been obtained by Germany. To-day we can rectify that serious error be-

cause, happily, Germany seized the French ore district at the beginning of the war, and is holding it firmly in its grasp.

Second in importance for Germany's war industries is coal, especially that kind of coal which can readily be converted into coke and which yields the principal explosives. We could not continue the war successfully if we did not obtain the necessary supply of iron ore from the soil of Lorraine, and we could also not hope to succeed had not nature endowed Germany, and particularly the Rhenish Province and Westphalia, and the neighboring districts of Belgium and North France, with excellent coke-coal. Similar quantities of that precious raw material do not occur elsewhere in Europe, and their quality is of the best. Now, when we have learned how important the question of munitions is for the issue of the war, and when we are already compelled to employ Belgian coal for Germany's own requirements, we must declare that the vital needs of the German nation in war and in peace make it impossible to render up once more to the enemy these mainsprings of military and economic power.

If we wish to secure the wealth of the soil, the mere political possession of the new territory is not sufficient. On the contrary, we must connect with their political incorporation the entire disposal of the economic factors which can be converted into power. Nowadays, an increase of territory means a real increase of strength only for the national war industries if the properties acquired are entirely at one's disposal.

In order to obtain the necessary control of the industries established on land which hitherto was French, the indemnification for the properties which must be acquired should be part of the war indemnity which France will have to pay. France, which has so often boasted that it is the banker of the world, will have to employ its financial strength in the first place for repairing the economic damage done. We must not hesitate to place upon France a burden which presses the country down to the utmost. If it wishes for relief, it may obtain it from its Allies on the other side of the Channel, whose wealth can scarcely be directly touched. As we have to reckon in the first place with France for obtaining a war indemnity in money, we must retain only so much French soil as is absolutely required for our security. . . .

VIII.

EXTRACT FROM SECRET MEMORANDUM SENT BY
MICHAELIS WHEN GERMAN CHANCELLOR
TO VIENNA.⁸

READ TO THE MAIN COMMITTEE OF THE REICHSTAG BY
HUGO HAASE, LEADER OF THE INDEPENDENT
SOCIALISTS.

In the Vosges the boundary line must be improved by the annexation of some valleys, so that the German frontier troops can no longer be fired upon from French territory. France will lose Briey and a strip of land west of Luxemburg. The value of Briey in

⁷ Grumbach, "Germany's Annexationist Aims," pp. 94-97.

⁸ Printed in the *New York Times*, March 18, 1918.

an economic and military sense is evident from the fact that 16,000,000 tons of iron ore are produced there. For the safeguarding of the German and Luxemburg iron industry Longwy must remain in our hands.

IX.

THE PETITION OF THE PROFESSORS TO THE IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR, JUNE 20, 1915.⁹

The German nation and its Emperor have kept the peace during forty-four years. They have kept it until its maintenance became incompatible with the demands of national honor and of self-preservation. In spite of the growing strength and number of its population, Germany has never thought of overstepping the narrow limits of its continental territories as a conqueror. Its genius merely compelled the nation to enter the world's markets in order to secure there its economic existence in peaceful competition with the other nations. . . .

Of a truth we do not strive after the domination of the world. However, we mean to possess a share of world-power proportionate to the greatness of Germany's cultural, economic, and warlike strength. Perhaps it will not be possible to achieve simultaneously all the aims of national security. This may not be feasible because of the number of our enemies. Still, the utmost limit of the possible should be obtained. Otherwise, the great sacrifices of the nation and our great military efforts during the war will have been vain. This is, we repeat it, the firm determination of the German nation.

It is the duty and the right of those who, through their learning and position, have become the intellectual leaders and protagonists of public opinion, to give clear expression to the resolution and to the firm will of the nation, and to place the national wishes before the Government. It is their duty to give powerful support to the Government in its heavy task of enforcing Germany's necessary claims against the faint-hearted individuals within the country and against its tenacious enemies abroad.

We invite all leaders of public opinion to fulfil this duty.

We know full well that one must discriminate between the desirable aims of the war and the final conditions obtainable at the peace, that everything depends on the ultimate success of our arms, and that it cannot be our task to discuss the war objects of Austria-Hungary and Turkey. Hence we have in the following merely briefly expressed our opinion in giving utterance to our conviction that Germany must have certain guarantees for a lasting peace, and that there are certain aims which must be reached by the blood-sodden road of the present war.

(1) France.—We wish to abolish for all time the French menace. We have been threatened by France for centuries. We have been assailed with French cries for vengeance from 1815 to 1870 and from 1871 to 1915. All classes of the German people are convinced of this necessity. We cannot abolish this danger through useless efforts at conciliation, to

which France has always replied with the utmost fanaticism.

We would warn all Germans most seriously not to indulge in self-deception. Even after the terrible lesson of this disastrous war of revenge, France will continue thirsting for vengeance as long as she possesses the necessary strength. For the sake of our own existence we must enfeeble that land politically and economically, without scruple or compunction, and improve Germany's military-strategical position towards France. To achieve this end a thorough-going improvement of Germany's western frontier from Belfort to the coast is needed.

In addition we must, if possible, conquer part of the French Channel coast in order to increase our strategical security against England and to obtain better access to the ocean.

Special measures will have to be taken so that the German Empire should not be internally weakened by its external acquisitions. In order to avoid a position similar to that which obtains in Alsace-Lorraine, the undertakings and landed properties in the conquered districts which secure to their owners power and influence should be transferred from hands hostile to Germany to German hands, and the indemnification of the original owners should be left to France. No influence whatever upon the Empire should be allowed to that part of the French population which has been taken over by us.

Furthermore, it is necessary that France—and France among all our enemies in the first place—should have imposed upon it a high war indemnity, and that no mercy should be shown to it, although it has financially been terribly bled through its own folly and British selfishness. Details will be given further on.

We should also remember that France has a disproportionately large Colonial Empire, and that England might enrich itself by seizing the French colonies unless we seize them ourselves.

(5) War Indemnity.—We desire as far as possible to obtain a war indemnity which compensates us for the cost of the struggle. . . .

We are, of course, aware that the question of war indemnities depends not only upon our military successes, but also upon the financial ability of our enemies. Should we be in the position of exacting an indemnity from England, which has always been so thrifty in devoting English blood to the war, no amount of money that could be exacted would be sufficiently large. . . . However, it is more probable that France, either alone, or, in the first place, must be counted upon to furnish an indemnity. We should not hesitate to put upon that country the heaviest financial burden. Philanthropic sentimentalism would be totally out of place. If the French wish to find relief, they may address themselves to their Allies on the other side of the Channel. If these refuse to help their Allies financially, we should obtain at least a political result with which we may be satisfied. . . .

⁹ Grumbach, "Germany's Annexationist Aims," pp. 40-52.

Some Thoughts on Nationalism and Internationalism

BY PROFESSOR X.

There is just now a disposition in some quarters to advocate the kind of internationalism which disparages patriotism, overemphasizing its competitive aspect and neglecting its finer and more constructive elements. It seems very desirable, therefore, that Americans who believe in national loyalty, without accepting the Prussian creed of national egoism, should think their way through to some sort of adjustment between these apparently conflicting, but really complementary, ideals of nationalism and internationalism. The following propositions are offered as one possible starting point for a discussion looking toward such an adjustment.

1. The kind of internationalism aimed at implies the continuance of national states as an actual and desirable condition of the world-order. That nationalism too often finds expression in international antagonism, that it is most conspicuous and most conscious of itself in times of war—these are indeed facts to be squarely faced. Nevertheless the unifying force of nationality in the modern world is after all a more important fact. Within the great nations patriotism has enlarged the interests and sympathies of the individual beyond his own personal fortunes and those of the more limited group, local, economic, or social, which might otherwise have claimed his exclusive loyalty. On the whole, nationality has done at least as much to unite men as it has to divide them. With all its faults it cherishes the ideal of a great community, not divided in relentless antagonism between exploiting and exploited classes, but rather united in mutual respect for just rights and in co-operation for the common good. If these propositions are true, a program of so-called internationalism which begins by trying to break down national loyalty must be condemned as essentially destructive and reactionary rather than constructive and progressive.

2. The theory that national loyalty may safely be allowed to disintegrate in the interest of a higher loyalty to humanity disregards another important fact of human experience, namely, that, for the average man, the sentiment of loyalty tends to lose vitality in proportion as the object toward which it is directed becomes more remote or more highly generalized. The elimination of national loyalty is, therefore, less likely to serve humanity than it is to develop in individuals and in smaller groups—local, racial, economic, or what not—a sense of emancipation from higher obligations, an essentially egoistic spirit. The cosmopolite who ceases to feel the claims of his own people can rarely be counted on for any substantial service to humanity, and is often an egoist of the worst type.

3. What is required, then, is not less loyalty to

one's own nationality, but more sympathetic understanding of nationalities and national ideals different from one's own, combined with a recognition of the fundamental interests, material and spiritual, which unite them to each other. As a healthy community must be founded, not on the repression of personality in the individuals who compose it, but on the largest freedom consistent with harmonious co-operation; so a sound international order must rest upon a similar regard for the individuality of the constituent nations. The French historian, Lavissee, in his address before the Sorbonne, November, 1914, expressed admirably in terms of his own national ideals this analogy between a free community of individuals and a free society of nations: "For us Frenchman," he said, "who have taught men by our eighteenth century the value and the dignity of human personality," "the nations, great or small, are also human personalities, whose value we appreciate and whose dignity we respect."

4. The principles underlying this conception of internationalism are generally applicable, but they have a peculiar importance for the United States. American nationality brings together men of different origins on the basis not of any racial connection, real or assumed, but rather of sympathy with characteristic American institutions and ideals. Patriotism here, as elsewhere, has to guard itself against constant preoccupation with the ideas of international rivalry and antagonism, but the problem of harmonizing the various elements of our immigrant population makes it easier to emphasize the unifying function of American nationality.

5. The principles on which the United States has now entered the world war have simplified for Americans the reconciliation of national with international ideals. We are appealing to national loyalty, but the cause for which the nation is fighting is the defense of international order against national egoism. Disloyalty to America in this quarrel is treason against the whole idea of a free society of nations.

In short, the internationalism which we should try to promote in American education will not undermine national loyalty, but gradually build upon it the more imposing, and immensely more complex, fabric of international society.

The *May Atlantic* is unusually interesting in its great number of excellent war articles, "The German Outlook for Parliamentary Government," by A. B. McLaren; "The Pacifist at War," by Henry Rutgers Marshall; "Russian Sidelights," by Arthur Ruhl; "Prussian Manners," by C. Journelle; "Ordinary Seamen, U. S. N."—a description of the Great Lakes Naval Training Station—by Joseph Husband; and the fifth of a series of war-adventure stories related by James Norman Hall.

Outline for the Incidental Study of Latin-American History in Secondary Schools

BY PROFESSOR MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS, PH.D., GOUCHER COLLEGE.

Through various channels a significant discussion has begun in the United States regarding the teaching of Latin-American history in the secondary school; and to the college teacher of the subject come various queries with reference to ways and means. These questions for the most part originate with high school teachers who wish to give their pupils light upon the past history and present problems of our neighbors to the south, but are doubtful—in view of the already crowded condition of the high school curriculum—to what extent they would be justified in going into the subject, and are not possessed of the bibliographical information which would enable them to teach Latin-American history in the secondary school, even in an incidental manner.

How soon any marked change in the fields of history now stressed in the elementary and secondary schools is to be looked for is not evident, but certain it is that ultimately history teaching in the lower schools will take upon itself a more practical character; a smaller portion of the course will be given to European history, and in the time gained through the elimination of non-essentials the children will be introduced—by means of definite courses—to their New World neighbors to the north and south.

While waiting for this revolution, the history teacher can hasten its coming and aid in the solution of serious hemispherical problems by teaching the essentials of Latin-American history in an incidental manner in connection with the courses in United States history. The idea is to introduce information regarding Latin America at logical points in the course. And much of this information can be conveyed by means of comparison of historical development in the two racial units, a method which will serve to clarify and emphasize United States history while giving the pupil a bird's-eye view of a new field. The following brief outline—which is intended to be merely suggestive—will indicate how this may be done.

I. Aboriginal Americas; comparison of aborigines regarding

1. Numbers.
2. Culture.
3. Consequent effect upon later history.

II. Colonial period; comparison of administrative systems:

1. Political.
2. Economic and industrial.
3. Religious.

III. Establishment of Latin-American independence, to be taken up in preparation for study of origin

of Monroe Doctrine in United States. The following points may be considered at this time:

1. Influence of the American Revolution upon the Latin-American wars for independence.
2. Political disintegration of Latin America after independence; cf. "critical period" in United State history.
3. Constitutions of Latin-American states.
 - a. Influence of the United States Constitution.
 - b. Unsuitability to the Latin America of the period.
 - c. Character of actual government.

IV. Political instability; rule by military chieftains, or *caudillos*. To be indicated in connection with study of the annexation of Texas, the Mexican War, Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, Ostend Manifesto, filibustering expeditions, the Maximilian episode.

V. Rise of republican rule in Latin America. To be brought out in connection with relations with Chile over *Baltimore* incident, Venezuela boundary controversy, Spanish-American War, diplomacy connected with Panama Canal, recent relations with Mexico (part played by A. B. C. republics).

VI. Latin America and the slavery question. To be considered in connection with Texas question, filibustering, migration of defeated Confederates to Brazil and other parts of Latin America. Here the influence of the American Civil War upon slavery in Brazil and upon the overthrow of the Brazilian empire can be mentioned.

VII. Latin America and the race question. Main facts to be brought out by comparison in connection with study of Negro and immigration problems in the United States.

VIII. Present-day Latin America. To be sketched briefly in connection with study of Pan-Americanism and of the Great War.

The matter above indicated can probably be best introduced by the teacher through class-room comments or informal lectures, and may be supplemented by occasional reference reading on the part of the pupils.

The following bibliographical information—which makes no pretense at completeness—may be of use to any teacher wishing to take up the study of Latin-American history:

GUIDES TO BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Bourne, E. G., "Spain in America" (New York, 1906), for colonial period only; Goldsmith, P. H., "A Brief Bibliography" (New York, 1915); Sheperd, W. R., "Latin America" (New York, 1914); Winsor, J., "Narrative and Critical History," Vols. 1, 2 and 8 (Boston, 1886, 1889), for pre-Columbian and colonial periods only.

Very valuable bibliographical information may also be obtained from the Pan-American Union, Washington, D. C. This includes special bibliographies as well as lists of works on Latin-American history and description to be found in the Columbus Memorial Library which is housed in the Union building. Supplementary lists are issued from time to time as new works are added to the library.

SYLLABUS.

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(New York, 1914); Blakeslee, G. H. (ed.), "Latin America: Clark University Addresses" (New York, 1914); Bryce, J., "South America: Observations and Impressions" (New York, 1912); Chandler, "Inter-American Acquaintances;" Clemenceau, G., "South America To-day" (New York, 1911); Dodd, W. F., "Modern Constitutions" (Chicago, 1909); Fornaro, Carlo de, "Carranza and Mexico" (New York, 1915); Hannay, D., "Diaz" (New York, 1917); Hart, A. B., "The Monroe Doctrine" (Boston, 1916); Jones, C. L., "Caribbean Interests of the United States" (New York, 1916); Koebel, W. H., "The South Americans;" Latane, J. H., "The United States and Spanish America" (1903); MacHugh, R. J., "Modern Mexico" (London, 1914); Manning, W. R., "Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Mexico"

(Baltimore, 1916); Martin, P. F., "Mexico of the Twentieth Century" (London, 1907); Rives, J., "Relations of Mexico with the United States;" Ross, E. A., "South of Panama" (New York, 1915); Speer, R. E., "South American Problems" (New York, 1917); Stuntz, H. C., "South American Neighbors" (1916); Verrill, A. H., "South and Central American Trade Conditions of To-day" (New York, 1914); Williams, M. W., "Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy" (Washington, 1916).

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS.

The Hispanic-American Historical Review (Washington, American Historical Association); *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union* (Washington).

Some Experiments in a New Type of History Examination

BY ELLEN L. OSGOOD, TEACHER OF INDUSTRIAL HISTORY, JULIA RICHMAN HIGH SCHOOL, NEW YORK CITY.

At the mid-term examinations in the Julia Richman High School last spring we, of the history department, tried some interesting experiments. Three of these examinations, for which I was responsible, proved so far successful that it seemed possible that others might be interested both in the question papers and in the purposes and results of the examinations.

The subjects in which these examinations were given, Industrial History and Civics, have been taught along somewhat new lines. No text book has been used. All material has been gathered by use of libraries. And the object has been rather to develop the pupil's thinking powers and initiative than to turn her brain into a cold storage warehouse of more or less useless facts. In each case the body of fact which the pupil has been called upon to master has been small, while the methods of work which she has been expected to acquire have been rather definitely determined and consistently adhered to. It is hardly open to question that facts in themselves are of little value to man or woman compared with the power to acquire and use facts. In consideration of the type of work done, it seemed only reasonable to plan tests which should try out the power of the pupil to do something rather than to reproduce facts and opinions from a book.

Industrial History I was given to a class of fourth term girls of the Commercial Course who had studied the subject for ten weeks, five periods a week. Industrial History II was given to a fifth term class who were in the second term of the subject and so had had a term and a half of training in the use of books. This examination was written entirely outside of school. On Friday a copy of the directions accompanied by one of the topics a few samples of which are here given, was handed to each girl, and the following Monday she turned in her paper. No two topics were alike and none were on subjects which had been discussed in class. The examination in civics was intended for senior classes which had been studying the subject with the use of Dr. Wolfson's assignments in "The Independent," and the examina-

tion was based in part on one of these assignments which had not been previously used.

These examinations were intended to test the power of our pupils in one or all of three directions; first, to get at material both by hunting down books in libraries and hunting down facts in books, secondly, to interpret the printed page, and, thirdly, to organize in relation to a given problem the information so obtained. On the whole, these objects were attained. The questions on the passage from Tacitus which made up two-fifths of the Industrial History I paper brought out clearly the power of the pupil to interpret the printed page. In the second examination the preparation of the bibliography and the locating of material in the books listed, tried out the ability of the classes to get at facts. The quality of the notes taken brought out their power to interpret, and the essay their ability to organize the material when it was obtained. The third examination was a test in interpretation and in the power to see the relation of one fact or idea to another. The first examination made it possible for a pupil who relied upon memory power to make a passing mark, but the second and third threw the memorizer out of the race entirely.

The results of these examinations were on the whole highly satisfactory. First, they graded the pupils of the classes in a manner which appealed to the sense of justice of both pupils and teacher. Secondly, they were interesting in themselves and served to stimulate a healthy interest in the work of the rest of the term. Thirdly, they showed up the strong points and weaknesses of each class as a whole and so served to guide the teacher in the type of recitation which should be employed to meet most effectively the needs of the pupils. For instance, the classes in Industrial History II handed in remarkably good bibliographies, good notes, and poor essays. Immediately it was evident that no more time need be given to the preparation of bibliographies but much training in the organization of facts. Summaries and outlines are now the order of the day.

MID-TERM EXAMINATION IN INDUSTRIAL HISTORY I.

1. Describe in detail the textile industry among primitive people touching upon the following topics, raw materials, tools, methods, labor, and products.

2. What were the effects of the geography and natural products of Egypt upon the industries of that country?

3. What were the effects of the introduction of metallic currency upon the commerce and industry of ancient Greece?

4. From the following quotation write a brief account of the industry and commerce of the ancient Germans. Give a reason for each statement you make. This quotation is taken from the work of Tacitus, a Roman historian who lived in the first century A. D.

"Their (the Germans') country . . . is productive of grain, but unfavorable to fruit-bearing trees. It is rich in flocks and herds, but these are for the most part undersized, and even the cattle have not their usual beauty or noble head. Their number is chiefly regarded; they are the most highly prized, indeed the only riches of the people. Silver and gold the gods have refused to them, whether in kindness or in anger I cannot say. . . . They care but little to possess or use them. You may see among them vessels of silver, which have been presented to their envoys and chieftains, held as cheap as those of clay. The border population, however, value gold and silver for their commercial utility, and are familiar with, and show a preference for, some of our coins. The tribes of the interior use the simpler and more ancient practice of the barter of commodities. . . ."

"Every person surrounds his dwelling with an open space, either as a precaution against the disasters of fire, or because they do not know how to build. No use is made by them of stone or tile; they employ timber for all purposes, rude masses without ornament or attractiveness. Some parts of their buildings they stain more carefully with a clay so clear and bright that it resembles painting. . . . Land proportioned to the number of inhabitants is occupied by the whole community in turn, and afterwards divided among them according to rank. A wide expanse of plains makes the partition easy. They till fresh fields every year, and yet have more than enough land. Because of the richness and extent of their soil, they do not laboriously exert themselves in planting orchards, inclosing meadows, and watering gardens. Grain is the only produce required from the earth. . . ."

5. Compare the industry and commerce of these Germans with that of the ancient Egyptians.

MID-TERM EXAMINATION IN INDUSTRIAL HISTORY II.

Directions.—Place in Miss Osgood's box in the office before 2.30, April —, a report on the subject assigned you written in ink or type written. This report must contain:

1. A list of books which are of use for the subject, the title and the author of the book to be given in every case.

2. Notes on the subject taken from one or more of these books, title of the book and pages consulted to head each set of notes.

3. A two-page discussion of the assigned topic.

4. At the close of the paper write and sign the following declaration:

"I have received no help in the preparation of this report."

Thirty per cent. will be allowed for the list of books. In marking this section both the number of books obtained and the quality of the books will be taken into consideration.

Thirty per cent. will be allowed for the notes. The number of facts obtained and the intelligence with which the notes are taken will be considered.

Forty per cent. will be given the discussion.

TOPICS FOR EXAMINATION IN INDUSTRIAL HISTORY II.

1. How was tapestry made in the Middle Ages?

2. What services did Arthur Young (born September 11, 1741, died April 20, 1820) render to the improvement of agriculture?

3. What were the contributions of Jethro Tull to the Agricultural Revolution?

4. What was the effect of the American Revolution on the commerce and industry of this country?

5. What were the effects of the War of 1812 on American industry?

6. What industrial changes in the South followed the emancipation of the negro? Were these changes due to freeing the slaves?

7. What was the effect of the invention of the sewing machine on the garment making industry?

8. Describe book-making in the Middle Ages.

9. What industries have been introduced into Western Europe or the United States from China?

10. What has been the effect of the invention of the Hoe Press?

MID-TERM EXAMINATION IN CIVICS.

Directions.—Each pupil is to bring to the examination a copy of Wilson's speech to Congress of Monday, April 2, asking for a declaration of war, and a copy of the *Independent* for April 14.

Each pupil is to read the following articles in the *Independent*: "The United States Falls In," "History in the Making," "The President Speaks for War," "The Decision of the Senate," "The Decision of the House," "Cuba Enters the War," and such other articles as she pleases, also the following quotation from President Monroe's message to Congress in 1823, in which he gave utterance to what is known as the Monroe Doctrine.

"In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more intimately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. . . . We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we shall consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

Answer the following questions:

1. State clearly the causes which led the United States to declare war.

2. How was war declared?

3. ". . . some newspapers in Argentine . . . pointed out that the entry of the United States into the European war . . . portended the passing of the Monroe Doctrine," etc. Explain this statement.

4. What, according to the President, are the measures which the United States should take to make the war effective? Discuss the wisdom of one of these measures.

A TYPICAL CIVICS PAPER.

Sittner, Henrietta, 6-3
Civics, 205
Miss Osgood

I. Causes that led the United States to declare war.

1. Our rights have been invaded.
2. Germany's declaration that on and after February 1 it would sink all vessels entering or attempting to pass through what they had prescribed as the "War Zone." Germany had heretofore restrained its commanders of submarines, but now casts aside all thoughts of humanity or mercy and tries to carry out its threat.
3. Treatment of Belgium.
4. Rights of the United States treated lightly.

II. President gives his message to Congress. La Follette speaks against war, against England and almost, at times, pro-German. Williams speaks forcibly against La Follette. Other Senators speak. At roll-call in Senate all but six Senators are in favor of war. Claude Kitchin and "Old Joe" Cannon and other "patriots" speak. Crowd again urges vote. Amendments offered prohibiting the sending of troops abroad unless they volunteer for that service or specific permission is given by Congress. Twelve o'clock and Good Friday. 2.30 a. m. Good Friday—Senator Clark takes the chair.

3.00. Roll-call.

Miss Rankin says: "I want to stand by my country, but I cannot vote for war."

3.14. Vote announced.

War declared 373 to 50.

Vote in Senate 82 to 6 for war.

III. Some newspapers of Argentina and elsewhere believe that while the United States was neutral, their position was more secure because the United States was the strongest neutral, and therefore neutrals were respected to some degree. They think that now as the strongest ally of neutral countries has declared war, the rights of neutrals will not be respected at all, instead of being respected to a greater degree. "We have never interfered in wars of European powers which pertain to themselves." South American countries think that we are breaking that part of the Monroe Doctrine. But I think that in Germany's submarine warfare she had made this great war pertain to us, and therefore I do not think that that portends the passing of the Monroe Doctrine."

IV. Measures to be taken by the United States:

1. Extension of liberal financial credit to the Entente Allies.
2. Raise an army of at least 500,000 men in addition to the standing army and the National Guard.
3. Introduction of the principle of universal military service.
4. Provision of the needed war revenues by taxation as far as possible rather than by borrowing.
5. Utmost co-operation with the countries already at war with Germany.
6. Organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country.
7. Full equipment of the navy immediately.
8. Granting of adequate credits to the government.

There is great wisdom in the suggestion of President Wilson for universal military service. It would be extravagant at first, but would be worth what it cost. If this war should force a draft, it would take men who were untrained for military service. Sending men into the field to

fight when they are not trained is sending them to their death. If every man was trained they would have no fear about going to fight because they would know that they could defend themselves better. It is not right for the men of one class only to be trained, but universal training would promote democracy. The volunteer method has failed in the past, and there is nothing to show that it will not fail in the present war. Besides the interests of the country there are the interests of the men to be considered. A few months' training in the army or navy will develop a young man at his wildest age (19-25) physically, mentally, morally. Because we have never had a trans-oceanic war is not to say that we will never have one, and we must be prepared.

Suggestions for a Text in Ancient History

BY WALLACE N. STEARNS, FARGO, NORTH DAKOTA.

Constant accumulation of material compels frequent revision of ancient history texts. Endless diversity in the finds and the difficulties attendant upon their examination and use—problems of language, geography, ethnology, chronology and the like—involves larger gifts than belong to any one man. If one, for example, cannot command the languages in which the sources are written, how is one to decide debatable points?

The eastern Mediterranean world has ever been and is a veritable jungle of languages, languages now at the student's command, and yet other tongues beyond the knowledge of the savant. On the decipherment of these languages rests the interpretation of the monuments. Furthermore, to be articulate the ancient history text should have a line of authenticated dates, anchor-points for the student's mind, and here, too, the doctors go far apart. Then, too, the facts of ancient history should be presented as the fruits of archaeology, and, finally, facts and events should be interpreted in the light of and for the illumining of present-day life and its problems.

If the needed text—reliable, comprehensive, concise, correct as to view-point, pedagogical method, and emphases—is a task too great for one man, then many must co-operate. What we seek now is a text for college classes, rather more mature than books heretofore issued.

The solution seems to lie in a group of writers under the direction of a general editor who shall work for unity, uniformity, and proportion. For example:

1. General Editor.
2. Central Asia and Beginnings of Civilization. Here is a section, too, on pre-historic man.
3. Mesopotamia and Persia.
4. Egypt.
5. Syria and Asia Minor.
6. The Aegean World and Greece.
7. The Roman World—until Constantine.
8. The Age of Constantine, the new Barbarian

Element, and the remaking of Europe—Beginnings of the Medieval Period.

9. Ancient India.

10. The Far East—China and Japan.

11. Ancient America.

Such a text would give the student a full survey of the field instead of the historical sectors now afforded; give the swing and force that comes from first-hand knowledge and investigation on the part of the author; and impart the flavor and enthusiasm sure to be wanting in the work of a man who "rides after."

Periodical Literature

EDITED BY GERTRUDE BRAMLETTE RICHARDS,
PH.D.

In the February issue of *Hojas Selectas* (Barcelona) is an interesting account of Spanish mercantile interests. The author (who writes under the *nom de plume* of Señor Alfenique) says that Spain has been deplorably inactive as concerns her navy, and urges the absolute necessity of starting to build immediately.

The earthquake of last December in Central America is vividly described in the *American Museum Journal* by Professor S. G. Morley, of the Carnegie Institute.

Signor Tommaso Tittoni, Italian Secretary of State, writes on the Overman Bill in the *Nuova Antologia*. The question involved in this bill is of particular importance in Italy as fuller and more unlimited powers have been conferred on the government there than in any other belligerent country.

"Labor and Capital in Russia," by Edward Alsworth Ross (*May Century*), is one of the most interesting accounts of the economic situation in Russia that has yet appeared. Professor Ross's observations in Petrograd lead him to conclude that while the proletariat is being welded into a powerful political instrument, the bourgeoisie is strangely inert, and is showing itself timid and ineffective because of its lack of organization. In the same magazine Jules Bois, now traveling in the United States as a representative of the French nation, has an excellent article on Venizelos.

Ambassador Morgenthau's *Story* of the diplomatic activities of the Sublime Porte begins in the *May World's Work*.

Robert Goldsmith discusses "The Foundations of a Lasting Peace" in the *May Bookman*, and, like most writers on this subject, advocates a League of Nations.

Mr. J. A. Marriott, in his article in the April *Fortnightly* on the British Reform Act of 1918, suggests that democracy and representative government are not interchangeable terms, but are really quite distinct ideas. He raises the question whether the Reform Act of 1918 is not "the last expiring effort to maintain a system hallowed in this country by long tradition, but effete and out of date." In the same magazine Mr. H. J. Jennings discusses the Bolshevik government's formal repudiation of Russia's debts, internal and external. He estimates the total Russian indebtedness at about \$30,000,000,000, and says it is the most colossal repudiation dreamed of in modern times.

The naval relations between America and England are discussed in the April *Sea Power* by Captain H. A. Sailor.

Quite the best summary of war conditions is "The Failure of Germany's Second Peace Offensive," by Frank H. Simonds, in the February *Review of Reviews*.

The *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for January, 1918, contains a set of interesting articles on financing the war by Professors F. W. Taussig, H. C. Adams, E. R. A. Seligman, O. M. W. Sprague and others. The general divisions of the subject are: The Task of Financing the War; Borrowing by the Government; Relation Between Loans and Taxes; Do Government Loans Cause Inflation; The Proper Kinds of Taxation; and Financial Experiences of the Allies.

The most conspicuous feature of the May *Harper's* is the first of a series of articles giving "Impressions of the Kaiser," by Dr. David Jayne Hill, former American Ambassador to Germany. The story of Alsace-Lorraine, the "Lost Province," is told by the Abbé Klein, illustrated with historic documents.

The *North American* for May presents "A New Interpretation of Anglo-American Relations," by H. E. Barnes, and a characteristic sketch of Clemenceau by Graham S. Stuart, both of which are excellent.

The *Outlook* for May 1 publishes "Japan, Germany and the Allies," an authorized interview with Count Masataka Terauchi, premier of Japan, by Gregory Mason, of the *Outlook* staff. Count Terauchi is quoted as believing that Japan's relations with the Entente Allies will continue unaltered after the present war. Mr. Mason tells us that there are "two governments in Japan—one composed of the Premier and the House of Ministers, the other of the Foreign Minister and the War Office. On the issue of the Russian intervention, the first has had the backing of the United States, and the second has been supported by France.

Maurice Léon's "Foch—Allied Commander-in-Chief" (*Review of Reviews* for May) is most appreciative. The same magazine has an excellent article on the present military situation—"The Greatest Battle in the World," by Frank H. Simonds, which is accompanied by unusual maps.

Notes from the Historical Field

In connection with the annual Schoolmen's Week of the University of Pennsylvania, a conference on History and Social Studies was held on April 11, at which the following program was provided: James P. Lichtenberger, Professor of Sociology, chairman; "The Contribution of Economics and Civics to Vocational Guidance," by Ruth Wanger, South Philadelphia High School for Girls; discussion: S. H. Ziegler, West Philadelphia High School for Boys; "American History Since 1880—How Can It Be Taught Adequately Without Sacrificing Things of Importance in Earlier American History?" by Alma V. Saurwalt, High School for Girls; discussion, Joseph M. Gottschalk, Frankford High School.

Mr. F. G. Gilman, head of the Department of History at the Barringer High School, Newark, N. J., died on March 24. He had been head of the department for many years. He was much interested in the local history of Newark, and contributed a number of articles to the press covering phases of Newark and New Jersey history.

Dr. James Sullivan, Director of Archives and History of the State of New York, contributes an illustrated article to the *State Service Magazine* for January, 1918, upon the

necessity for saving the state's public records. Dr. Sullivan points out the danger to local records from fire and from carelessness on the part of local officials. He illustrates the difference between inflammable building and equipment and fireproof construction.

The booklet of the New England History Teachers' Association for 1918 contains a sketch of the history of the Association and of its activities with a list of publications issued under its auspices. The booklet also contains the constitution of the Association, the officers, committees, and a full list of the membership.

The records of Smithtown, Suffolk County, N. Y., are described by the town clerk, Mr. Frank E. Brush, in the annual report for 1917 of Dr. James Sullivan, State Historian. The description of the records is accompanied by two photographs showing the character of the building and methods of storing the records.

The New York City Conference of History Teachers held its first public meeting at the College of the City of New York on Saturday morning, April 20. The general topic was the "Relation Between History Teaching and Patriotism." Addresses were made by Prof. Claude H. Van Tyne, of the University of Michigan; Dr. Arthur M. Wolfson, Principal of the High School of Commerce, New York City; Dr. F. E. Moyer, of De Witt Clinton High School, New York City. The discussion which followed the papers was participated in by Dr. D. C. Knowlton, of the Central High School, Newark, N. J., and Mr. Howe, of the Southside High School, Newark, N. J. A report of the meeting of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland, held in Philadelphia in December, was made by Dr. A. C. Bryan.

The Executive Committee of the Conference is composed of the following persons: Mr. S. T. Steward, chairman, Southside High School, Newark, N. J.; Dr. Nelson P. Meade, College of the City of New York; Mr. H. F. Biddle, of the High School at Plainfield, N. J.; Miss Florence E. Stryker, State Normal School, Montclair, N. J., and Miss Ellen L. Osgood, secretary-treasurer, the Julia Richman High School, New York City.

Professor Barker continues his "Source Readings in Texas History" in the *Texas History Teachers' Bulletin*, Volume VI, Number 2 (February 15, 1918). Dr. Gutsch contributes to the same number a series of source readings on "Medieval History."

A recent addition to the Everyman's Library published by E. P. Dutton & Company, New York City, is Duruy's "History of France," which is issued in this library in two volumes.

The newly-elected officers of the Oklahoma History Teachers' Association are: President, Prof. E. E. Dale, of Norman; secretary-treasurer, Mr. C. W. Turner, High School, Oklahoma City.

A co-operative plan has been worked out by Superintendent William M. Davidson, of the Pittsburgh Public Schools, and J. W. Batty, Director of Fine Arts of the Carnegie Institute, whereby each of the five thousand eighth grade pupils in the Pittsburgh public schools will visit the art galleries three times during the school year and receive instruction in the underlying principles of art. Special lecturers upon art and art history will give instruction to public school teachers and art supervisors. During each month in the school year every eighth grade pupil will receive a postcard reproduction of one of the important pictures at the Institute, and teachers will be given details concerning the same picture, the artist, and the school of art to which he belongs.

At the annual election of officers of the Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge, in March, the following were chosen to serve for the ensuing year: Prof. M. L. Bonham, Jr., secretary-treasurer since the organization, was made president; Miss Katharine M. Hill, vice-president; Dr. W. O. Scroggs, Head of the Department of Economics and Sociology in Louisiana State University, secretary-treasurer. Organized in March, 1916, with twenty-six members, the society now has seventy.

A report of the fourteenth annual conference of historical societies held at Philadelphia, December 29, 1917, has been issued by the secretary. The report gives an analysis of the various papers read and a list of the societies represented at the conference. Copies of the report (price, 20 cents) may be obtained from Dr. Augustus H. Shearer, Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, N. Y.

A sketch of the history of Catholic education in England will be found in the *Catholic Educational Review* for March, 1918 (Vol. 15, No. 3), pages 260 to 265.

"Lincoln in Indiana" is the title of an extended paper by J. Edward Murr (63 pages) which appears in the *Indiana Magazine of History* for March, 1918.

"Visual Instruction Through Lantern Slides and Motion Pictures," by N. L. Hoopingarner and G. S. Wehrwein appears in the *University of Texas Bulletin* for May 25, 1917. The editors give many practical suggestions concerning the use of lantern slides and moving picture films in school work. A detailed account is given of the lantern and the best ways of manipulating it. Lists of dealers in slides are appended, together with a detailed description of the loan sets which may be obtained from the University of Texas.

According to newspaper despatches a new course of study will be introduced into the schools of New York City which may be entitled, "What Every American School Pupil Should Know About the War." The Board of Education has appointed a committee to prepare a syllabus outlining the new course of study for all grades from the primary to the high school. The aim is to let every scholar know the causes of the world war, why the United States entered the conflict on the side of the Allies, and the main principles for which this government is fighting. A recent test involving twenty simple questions regarding the war which was propounded to 186 high school pupils showed forty-four per cent. incorrect answers, while the same questions put to thirty-one school principals brought thirty-four per cent. of incorrect replies.

A. J. Nystrom & Company, the well-known map publishers, announce the removal of their offices and ware-rooms from 623 South Wabash Avenue to 2249 Calumet Avenue, Chicago. The new location is in the heart of Chicago's educational publishing district, and furnishes the firm with much enlarged quarters.

NEW ENGLAND ASSOCIATION.

The New England History Teachers' Association held its annual spring meeting on Saturday, April 27, in Emerson Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge. Both the meeting and the luncheon which followed were very well attended. Miss Mabel Hill, chairman of the Committee on Methods of the Association, and also a member of the Women's Municipal League of Boston, gave a very interesting and inspiring report for her committee on the methods which are being employed in some of the normal schools and high schools of New England in order to train a truer spirit of democracy. She was followed by Professor Samuel B. Harding, of the University of Indiana, who in his talk, "The Use and Abuse of Current Events in Teaching His-

tory," also showed what the Committee on Public Information of Washington is attempting to do in setting forth the condition which led to the present war.

Professor Harding gave some valuable suggestions and warnings against the rejection of the chronological presentation of historical material in an effort to instill interest. He felt that such a method might lead to confusion and a lack of perspective.

Mr. Edward Porritt, of Hartford, Conn., correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* and the *London Times*, spoke entertainingly at the luncheon on "Recollections of the Press Gallery and the Parliamentary Reporting at Westminster in the 'Eighties."

The committee on methods presented an excellent number of charts and posters. Through the courtesy of the librarian of Harvard University, a collection of war posters, maps and manuscripts was also shown.

ASSOCIATION OF HISTORY TEACHERS OF THE MIDDLE STATES AND MARYLAND.

It has been the custom to hold the annual meeting of the Association at this time, and to arrange for addresses on two days, with possibly a dinner on the first evening. This year conditions are far from normal, and after careful deliberation and consultation with those able to express the opinion of the government, it was decided that, in view of the present railway situation, it was not expedient to hold the ordinary annual meeting, but that it would be better to attempt to arrange meetings at various centers at which those in the immediate vicinity might be gathered together. The meeting in Philadelphia on May 16-17 of the "League to Enforce Peace" would be of great interest, and in Baltimore the Local Conference could be trusted to meet the needs of their district.

On Friday evening, May 17, at eight o'clock, the annual meeting of the Association was held at the residence of Mr. Adolph Lewisohn, 881 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The National Board for Historical Service, realizing the great need for constructive leadership among the teachers of history, sent Professor Samuel B. Harding, of the University of Indiana and a member of the National Board, who spoke about the work of the Board, what it is trying to do, and how teachers may co-operate with it. He also outlined the general educational reorganization which is beginning to take place. Professor Harding is a strong and effective speaker, full of suggestive ideas, and with an excellent grasp of what is practical. Professor Marshall S. Brown, New York University, presided as president of the Association.

The courtesy of Mr. Adolph Lewisohn, one of the leaders in patriotic work in the city of New York, made it possible to hold the meeting under most pleasant conditions, and the gathering of two hundred and fifty, who met in the ballroom of his residence, listened to a most inspiring and informing address.

The business meeting, with reports from committees, and the election of officers, took place after Professor Harding had spoken. The following were elected to serve for the year 1918-1919:

President, Livingston Rowe Schuyler, of the College of the City of New York.

Vice-President, Lucy B. Hunter, National Cathedral School for Girls, Washington, D. C.

Secretary-Treasurer, Daniel C. Knowlton, Central High School, Newark, N. J.

Elective members of the Council, Eloise Ellery, Vassar College, and Percy L. Kaye, Baltimore City College.

THE WAR AND THE SCHOOLS.

Dr. James Sullivan, State Historian of New York, has sent out a request to the schools of the state that they celebrate the anniversary of the declaration of war against Germany, April 6, 1917, by preparing a statement for the Division of Archives and History upon the activities of pupils, teachers and boards of education concerning the war. Among the topics suggested by the State Historian are the following:

Work or contributions for the Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., or other war organizations; subscriptions to liberty bonds or purchase of thrift stamps; work done in co-operation with church organizations, patriotic societies, labor unions, farmers' organizations and others; work done by pupils or teachers on farms or in food production and conservation; lists of former pupils or graduates who have entered the war service of the country; the names of any soldiers or other workers wounded or killed in action, or dying of illness while in service; military honors won; the working of the draft; the departure of the men to the camps; changes wrought in the official life of the school, town, village, city and county because of the war; the organization for home defense; alien enemies; difficulties encountered on the farms and in manufacturing establishments; cost of living; the fuel supply; the working of food regulations; charitable enterprises undertaken to relieve distress due to the war; an account of collections of material made in the school or by others of posters, clippings, cartoons, photographs, letters, sermons, addresses, proclamations, etc., relating to the war.

The National Security League (19 West Forty-fourth Street, New York City) has issued a number of patriotic pamphlets, some of which have been referred to in previous issues of the *MAGAZINE*, particularly the number for October, 1917. Since that date the League has issued in its series entitled, "Patriotism Through Education," the following pamphlets: "America and the Great War," by A. E. Bestor; "How the German Empire Has Menaced Democracy," by Talcott Williams; an address by Elihu Root; "The Price of Victory," by Henry W. Farnam; an address by Samuel Gompers; "The Tentacles of the German Octopus in America," by E. E. Sperry; "How British Labor Supports the War," by J. A. Seddon; "Germany Self-Convicted by the Words of Her Own Rulers, Philosophers, Publicists and Statesmen;" "The Relation between the Declaration of Independence and the World War," by T. J. O'Donnell; "The War," by Clarence Darrow.

The League has also issued a number of leaflets comprising contributions to its patriotic campaign from many writers and publicists. The Committee on Patriotism through Education has also prepared a first volume (56 pages) of "Teachers' Patriotic Leaflets." The volume contains the following topics: "The Meaning of America," "An Outline for Teachers," "Wake-Up, Teachers of America," "Teaching Citizenship," "Correlating History with Current Events," and "Duties of Schools."

The Historical Commission of Ohio, whose officers and members were named in the *MAGAZINE* for April, has issued a bulletin describing the purpose of the Commission and outlining for the sake of convenience the material which may be considered as war records. These are grouped under eight topics, as follows: Records of state agencies and of federal agencies within the state; military records; religious records; economic material; political and propagandist material; educational records; county and municipal records; and war literature.

Hundreds of Pennsylvania high school boys will be taken to Pennsylvania State College during April and May, and

given training in some of the fundamentals of farm labor. Advanced students in the School of Agriculture of State College will supervise the boys' training, and also will be in charge of farm camps to be established in various parts of the state.

"The British Empire and a League of Peace," by Prof. George Burton Adams, deals with the difficulties which have been found in organizing the British Empire. The writer believes that "if the British Empire, as it exists at present, could advance to a practical, not a merely sentimental, recognition of the fact that it is a commonwealth of nations and could bring itself to act in international relations in view of the fact, the problem of federation, of such federation as is necessary, would be almost instantly solved. Such a transformation of the British Empire into a commonwealth of nations would make much easier of solution the problem of America's joining in a common international policy."

Number 9 of the series entitled, "Iowa and War," deals with the Black Hawk War which has much significance in Iowa history in that the defeat of Black Hawk and the following treaty made possible the opening of the Iowa country to settlement.

News despatches state that the Legislature of Virginia has modified the charter of William and Mary College so as to permit the admission of women students to the courses in that institution.

With the approval of the Secretary of War, a committee of army officers and an Advisory Board of Educators, have been appointed to aid in mobilizing the schools and colleges of the country to provide for the technical education of men needed principally for the ordnance bureau and the signal and engineer corps. The committee of officers, to be known as the Committee on Education and Special Training, is composed of Colonel Hugh S. Johnson, Deputy Provost Marshal General; Lieut. Col. Robert I. Rees, of the General Staff, and Major G. Clark, of the Adjutant General's Department. The Advisory Board of Educators consists of Dr. Samuel P. Capen, specialist in higher education of the United States Bureau of Education; Dr. Charles R. Mann, of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Dr. James R. Angell, of Chicago, Dean of the faculties of the University of Chicago; J. W. Dietz, of Chicago, Director of Education, Western Electric Company, president of the National Association of Corporation Schools; and James P. Munroe, of Boston, member of the Federal Board for Vocational Education.

"Don't Close the Schools: Use Them" is the subject-matter of a letter by Secretary of the Interior Lane approving a statement of the National Bureau of Education. The Bureau's statement says: "The entire spirit of the Administration in Washington is, and has been from the beginning, that the war should in no way be used as an excuse for giving the children of the country any less education, in quantity or quality, than they otherwise would have had. Both the present demands of the war emergency and the prospective demands of the necessary readjustments inevitably to follow emphasize the need of providing in full measure for the education of all the people." Regarding elementary schools, the statement says that there is no present prospective war emergency which would justify curtailment in any respect of the sessions of the elementary schools or of the education of boys and girls under fourteen years of age. Teachers are encouraged, however, to find opportunity to introduce into the schools, ideals of service and self-sacrifice and of the essential unity of the nation in this great crisis. Regarding high school students, both

the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy have pointed out that the army and navy cannot use boys under eighteen years of age. From the standpoint of the army and navy there is nothing more important than that the schools can do than to keep going at full capacity, and at the same time to emphasize the value of physical education. Civil service examining officers are also emphatic in their statement that nothing can be gained by shutting down the schools or curtailing school facilities. They suggest, however, that the schools would undoubtedly render a much needed service by organizing classes to train stenographers, typewriters, clerks and secretaries. Industrial needs, say the government officials, present no emergency which justifies the relaxation of laws safeguarding the working conditions of young people. It is easier to provide good working conditions on the farms than in the mills or factories.

The California State Board of Education has published a series of introductory war citizenship lessons entitled, "The War and America," prepared under the direction of the Pasadena High School. There are four lessons outlined in the pamphlet with accompanying bibliographies: 1. How Germany Sought to Dominate the World; 2. How Europe was Aroused Against Germany; 3. How the War Came to America; 4. The Defeat of Germany—The General Problem.

The University of Chicago has published a series of war papers, of which the following have been received: "The Threat of German World Politics," by President Harry Pratt Judson; "America and the World Crisis," by Prof. Albion W. Small; "Democracy the Basis for World-Order," by Mr. Frederick D. Bramhall; "Sixteen Causes of War," by Prof. Andrew C. McLaughlin. Readers of the MAGAZINE may be interested in this list of causes which follows: Germany Began the War; Germany Began War, Not for Safety, But On Account of Ambition; Germany Invaded Belgium; The German Troops Sacked Belgium; Germany Disregarded Her Pledges in the Conduct of the War; Germany Flung Aside International Law; Germany Pursued the Policy of Terrorizing on the High Sea; Germany Openly Defied the World; Germany Filled Our Land with Spies; Germany's Conspiracy and Espionage Threatened Democracy; Germany Menaced Our Safety; Germany Threatened the Monroe Doctrine; Germany Imperiled the Integrity of Our Nation; In Peace and War Germany Threatened the Peace of the World; Germany Made the World Unsafe for Democracy; and Germany's Conduct and Principles Conflict with Any Plan of World-Organization for Peace.

The Concord (W. Va.) State Normal School will give in its summer session under the direction of Principal L. B. Hill a course entitled, "The War and the Teacher." The purpose will be to aid our country in the war by showing teachers how they may be of real service in their communities, and by presenting to teachers a typical course of study in recent events.

Each of the students in the Public High School of Hartford, Conn., has received a neatly printed leaflet containing the following statements:

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING AGAINST.

1. The theory that might makes right.
(A professed German military belief.)
2. Disregard of international treaties.
(For instance, Germany's violation of her treaty with Belgium.)
3. Oppression of weak nations.
(For instance, Germany's cruel brutality to the Belgian people.)

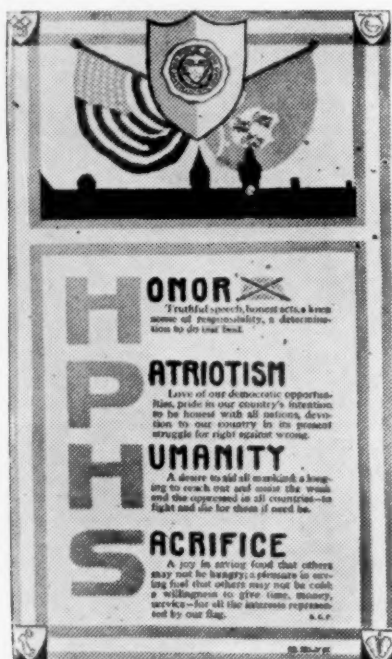
4. Violation of democracy.

(Germany's attempt to supersede it with monarchy wherever possible.)

5. Attempted world domination by Germany.

(A professed ambition of the military party of Germany.)

The public high school of Hartford, Conn., has issued a patriotic postal card printed in three colors from a design obtained from a students' poster contest carried on by the Art Department of the school. The winning poster was also reduced to a size convenient for post-card use.



Mr. William Tyler Page, of Friendship Heights, Md., has won the \$1,000 prize offered by the City of Baltimore for the most suitable "American's Creed" in the present state of the country. The creed is as follows:

"I believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign nation of many sovereign states; a perfect union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

"I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it; to support its Constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its flag, and to defend it against all enemies."

The Bucks County (Pa.) Teacher's Association met on Saturday, April 6, to consider the war emergency in education. Among the subjects discussed were: "The Farm Bureau and Food Production," "The Labor Question and the Schools," "The Need for Higher Salaries for Teachers," "The Need for Training in Citizenship," and "How Far Should the War Interfere with Regular School Work."

EDUCATION IN GERMANY.

Under the title, "War Effects on the Schools," Professor Dr. Paul Hildebrandt addressed the public school health association upon the effects of the war upon the spiritual life of our peoples. He said:

"We all recall with emotion the immense enthusiasm of our youths when the war broke out and how more than 20,000 volunteers enlisted from our higher educational institutions alone. The impulse to get into the field was universal. It arose with the impressionability of youth for all genuine human emotion, from love for the fatherland and from hatred for the enemy that had so treacherously attacked us. Even those who remained at home were profoundly affected. Their sympathy with the impoverished refugees driven from their native provinces expressed itself in practical works of human love, which for the first time had an opportunity to manifest itself in their young lives in actual service.

"The tremendously stimulated impulse to do something, that filled our youths, expressed itself in the schools in new ways. Older pupils were organized into children's unions where they were taught to act under that close association to which youth is so responsive. The collection of gold coins was the first of their activities, then followed the collection of old metal, of woolen articles, or reading material, of clothing, of edible herbs, and so on to the collection of bones and a soliciting of war loan subscriptions. Patriotic enthusiasm inspired instruction. The heart of our young people was open to this influence, and teachers who understood the situation had a light task.

"Meanwhile years have passed. The sixth grade pupils of 1914 are now about to be promoted to the upper third. They have become accustomed to the war. Who can wonder then that now in the fourth year of war our children exhibit signs of change? Too many of the restraints have been removed which should shape their development—the loosening of family ties, the father at the front, the mother employed away from home, and in the lower ranks of society doing the work of men, the omission of school discipline. Of the teachers of the Berlin public schools, for instance, two-thirds have gone into the army. The remainder are overworked. Dropping class periods or combining classes together are the order of the day. In the higher schools half of the teachers are in the army. Furthermore, standards have been let down in the higher institutions of learning where examinations have gradually been lowered until the final examination has been pushed back fully two classes. All these conditions have influenced our students and have weakened their persistence, since they see that they can attain a scholastic standing without effort that formerly demanded the severest application.

"Young people follow the law of their nature. They are guided by the impressions of the moment, and they cannot permanently resist them. In addition, as time went on, especially in case of the students of higher institutions, and particularly in the towns, the hardship of inadequate nourishment appeared. It is the unanimous judgment of medical specialists that the children of the middle classes suffered most in this respect. General attention was attracted to the fact that the children were less sensitive to reproof, that they paid no more attention to threats, because the school authorities had directed that they should be treated with every leniency, and since promotions no longer represented any definite standard of accomplishment. This special consideration for the children was most obvious in the schools of the large cities. Were not harvest work and the country vacation necessary to maintain the health

of the coming generation, and was it not necessary for a great many to be set back in their studies—so that they required repeated concessions to maintain their rank, and thereby continually lowered scholastic standards of their classes?

"That spirit of voluntary service which at the beginning of the war revealed itself in its fairest aspect has now disappeared. Everywhere we hear lamentations over the increasing distaste shown for military services. Pupils collect articles now for the reward, not from patriotism, and the older pupils have their struggles. Shall they take advantage of the opportunity to leave school with a half-completed education, or shall they avoid placing themselves in a position where they will have to enlist for their country? What an unhappy indecision even for the best of them, those who really think about the matter!

"Furthermore, in those ranks of society which are less influenced by tradition, discipline, and education, we find increasing violations of the law. At the first this manifested itself merely in an increase of theft. More recently it has taken a decided turn toward personal assaults. It is true, the latter are still negligible in proportion to the total number of juvenile offences, but they are increasing every year. Already the number of violent crimes committed by youths in the city of Berlin is more than three times the number reported in 1914.

"Thus, dark shadows are falling over the brilliant picture of 1914. Every disciplinary influence, every effort of the still fundamentally sound German nation must be exerted to oppose this tendency, and to lead the children back to the path of rectitude."—*Vossische Zeitung*, January 23, 1918.

GERMAN UNIVERSITY ATTENDANCE.

The participation of German students in the war continues to increase, according to the latest reports of twenty-two universities of the Empire. In the beginning of the sixth semester of the war, in the summer of 1917, the number of students present in the university towns was only 11,244 men and 6,013 women. About 1,200 men and 200 women were from friendly and neutral countries, so that in round numbers 10,000 German youths still remained in university courses. Among these, however, were several thousand who had been discharged from military service or were upon furloughs. Consequently the total number of students who had not seen military service was very small, especially if we take into consideration that many of these left to join the colors during the course of the summer. Before the outbreak of the war there were probably 53,500 male students who were subjects of the Empire. If we assume that during the last semester only 8,000 German subjects were at the universities, there must have been 45,000, or 85 per cent., in military service.

With regard to the actual attendance at different universities, at the present moment Berlin is in the lead with 3,166 students, among whom are 492 foreigners and 1,161 women. Munich follows with 1,958 students; Bonn and Leipzig with 1,360; Breslau, 105; Heidelberg, 852; Gottingen, 762; Marburg, 724. The relatively large attendance at some universities arises through the larger number of foreigners and women. The very small attendance at such universities as Strassburg and Freiburg is due to their geographical positions—near the theatre of war. A university at Frankfurt, which was opened after the outbreak of the war, has an attendance of 673, and already occupies tenth place in the list. —*Reichs-Anzeiger*, August 29, 1917.

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PROF. HENRY JOHNSON, Teachers' College, Columbia University, Chairman.

PROF. FRED. M. FLING, University of Nebraska.

MISS MARGARET MCGILL, High School, Newton, Mass.

PROF. FREDERIC DUNCALF, University of Texas.

PROF. O. H. WILLIAMS, University of Indiana.

DR. JAMES SULLIVAN, Director of Archives and History,
New York State Department of Education.

ALBERT E. McKINLEY, Ph.D., Managing Editor

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Readers of the MAGAZINE frequently ask for information concerning the purpose and organization of the National Board for Historical Service. The Board was formed on April 29, 1917, as the result of an informal conference called by the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution. Its aim has been to place the training and experience of historical scholars at the service of the nation in the present state of war. It has furnished historical data to public officials, such as the Committee of Public Information; has co-operated in preparing lectures for camps and public meetings; has arranged dates for lecturers; and has co-operated with THE HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE in many ways. The present membership of the Board is as follows:

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Professor Ira G. Flocken; Professor Francis Tyson; Professor Scribner; Professor J. Lynn Barnard; Assistant Professor Homer J. Webster; Mr. Louis K. Manley; Miss Eleanor Hanson.

Principles of Economics. Professor Flocken.

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Seminar. Assistant Professor Webster.

American Statesmen. Assistant Professor Webster.

BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY PROFESSOR WAYLAND J. CHASE,
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

MACELROY, MARY HOLBROOK. *Work and Play in Colonial Days*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1917. Pp. 163. 40 cents.

This attractive little volume is a pleasant addition to the "Everychild's Series" of supplementary reading books. The author gives a charming picture of child life in colonial days—its dress and discipline, its education and amusements. There are also some pertinent suggestions for the children of to-day drawn from the more punctilious manners of the olden time.

Boys and girls of the intermediate and grammar grades may find in this book the same pleasure and profit that older readers derive from the works of Mrs. Alice Morse Earle.

HARRIET E. TUELL.

High School, Somerville, Mass.

BRYAN, GEORGE S. *Sam Houston*. (True Stories of Great Americans Series). New York: The Macmillan Co., 1917. Pp. 183. 50 cents.

The reader of Sam Houston's life will be impressed with the similarity between the circumstances and events of his early career and those of his friend, Andrew Jackson. Both are ideal subjects for enthusiastic and picturesque treatment at the hands of their biographers. One can hardly say that the author has in this case made the best of his opportunity. The style is stiff, and there is lack of that clear and orderly arrangement of facts and of the distribution of emphasis subordinating details to larger matters, which are so essential in books for the young. In the confused poli-

tics and military movements of Texan history the lack of these elements is most noticeable. The account of events preceding the battle at the Alamo, and of that event itself, leaves much to be desired. The battle of San Jacinto is presented in better form.

But what shall be said of a book which, dealing with a region entirely unfamiliar to the vast majority of its prospective readers, and flooded with strange names of localities, yet contains no trace of a map? How, one may ask, is the reader to follow and comprehend the story? Young readers will not undertake patient search in atlas or geography. They lose interest or gain at the best but vague impressions. From these they can reproduce very little that is profitable to themselves or to others. The book has no index.

ALBERT H. SANFORD.

State Normal School, La Crosse, Wis.

MOSES SOHN, M. *A Guide to American Citizenship*. Portland, Oregon: The J. K. Gill Co., 1917. Pp. 89. 75 cents.

About thirty of the eighty pages of text in this manual are occupied by the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. There are brief accounts of the United States and State governments, the latter having especial reference to Washington, Oregon and California. The remainder of the book is given to facts and directions concerning citizenship and naturalization.

S.

HUGHES, R. O. *Community Civics*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1917. Pp. 471. \$1.25.

Remarkable to tell, the bibliography contains only those books the average teacher will use. Our national constitution is admirably analyzed and arranged, and given in such simple form that the average pupil can safely be referred to the document with the comfortable feeling on the part of the teacher that he will understand its subject matter when he reads it. A satisfactory index, an unusually full table of contents arranged by sections, questions at the close of each chapter and special topics in abundance for discussion and debate—all these factors give a text on civics easy to use, thoroughly modern and well fitted for the requirements of progressive teachers of civics. The illustrations number 236 and are well selected. An interesting feature is the suggestive questions, well calculated to provoke thought and discussion, interspersed throughout by sections just where they naturally come in the text, and therefore they can be used when the interest of the pupil is first kindled in the topic.

The sub-divisions of the book show its scope. "Community Life," "Elements of Community Welfare," "Higher Life of the Community." Under the last heading we find "Religion" and "Religious Instruction" discussed. At first sight one is startled at the temerity of the author in touching on such a mooted question, but Mr. Hughes handles the subject so deftly that he leaves us wondering why we have been before so afraid to mention such an important element in community life. The ten chapters devoted to "The Mechanism of Our Government," give ample opportunity to enlarge at our discretion on governmental machinery. Part IV discusses "Problems of National Scope," grouped as "Financial Problems," "Economic and Industrial Problems," and "Social Problems." One chapter under this sub-division deals with "America, the Melting Pot," discussing the questions, "Where did we come from?" "Why do they come?" "Where do they go?" "What happens?" and closes with paragraphs on "The Yellow Man," "The Black Man," "The Red Man." Even the vital sub-

jects, "Earning a Living" and "Efforts Toward Betterment" have their chapters in the scheme of study. Civics teachers differ greatly on the relative place and time to be given such subjects in a high school course in civics. But there is no question that boys and girls of high school age are keenly interested in such live topics of every-day life and enjoy discussing them.

In our efforts to reconstruct courses of study in the high schools in order to bring their subject-matter more closely in touch with practical life, "Community Civics" offers teachers of citizenship much aid and comfort. The book is heartily recommended to any one seeking a new, up-to-the-minute textbook in civics. The publishers are to be congratulated on the excellent topographical dress in which they have clothed the book.

MARY LOUISE CHILDS.

Evanston Township High School, Evanston, Ill.

FLETCHER, C. BRUNSDON. *The New Pacific: British Policy and German Aims*. With a preface by Viscount Bryce and a foreword by the Right Hon. W. M. Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia. London: Macmillan & Co., 1917. Pp. xxxiii, 311. \$3.00.

This thoughtful work has been occasioned by the occurrences of the present war, which, in bringing about the downfall of German possessions in the Pacific, has caused earnest consideration of the influence of German plans in the past, with a view to the best course for the British Empire, meaning particularly Australia, to pursue in the future. The indictment against German methods is severe. The Germans, under the guise of treaties ensuring equal advantages to British and German traders alike, had by means of heavy licenses, combined with governmental subsidies for their own companies, entered upon a course of aggrandizement peculiarly galling to Australia. The disclosure of these methods, a review of British imperial passivity, a statement of the Australian point of view, a forecast of the future of the Pacific if Germany remains eliminated; these are the chief threads of the discussion. Other topics are, however, not overlooked, as, for instance, the triangular play of interests among missionaries, public officials, and traders; the difficulties of obtaining sufficient quantities of native labor, and the general policy to be pursued toward the natives; the problem of white settlement within the tropics of northern Australia. It will be seen from this brief summary that the work is not so much an attempt to utter a final judgment upon this exceedingly complicated topic, as an effort to discuss dispassionately and clearly the new conditions which have arisen. As a sober contribution to a better understanding of the problem of the Pacific it merits attention.

HENRY L. CANNON

Stanford University.

MUNRO, WILFRED HAROLD. *Tales of an Old Seaport*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1917. Pp. 292. \$1.50.

The old seaport is Bristol, Rhode Island, first settled in 1680, and one of its many distinguished sons is Professor Munro, of Brown University, the author both of this book and of a history of Bristol.

An introductory chapter sketches at some length the history of old Bristol, identifying the Mount Hope Lands of which it is the principal town first with the Vinland of the Vikings, and six hundred years later with one of the Indian villages of Chief Massasoit. These Mount Hope Lands, too, were the site of the last stand which King Philip made in that Indian war to which his name was attached, and boulder

monuments now mark there the spot where he fell. Originally this was part of Plymouth Colony and its principal seaport. At first its principal exports were agricultural products, mostly onions, shipped to the West Indies, but very early trade with the coast of Africa began. With holds filled with rum and trinkets on the outgoing voyage, the sailing vessels, ordinarily so small that "a fleet of them could be stowed away in the hold of a Lusitania," carried on their return voyage a cargo of slaves to the West Indies, and thence back to Bristol casks of molasses. Inevitably the town became involved in the Revolutionary struggle, and it was Bristol townsmen who burned the British *Gaspee*. Three years later most of the houses in the center of the town were burned by British and Hessian soldiers.

This town's contribution to the war of 1812 was very considerable, for it furnished many of the privateers which greatly harassed English commerce. In his implied assertion, however, on page 212, that the American privateers drove the English commerce from the ocean and brought the War of 1812 to an end, the author has greatly overstated the damage inflicted by these doughty sea-fighters.

In the year 1825 the first whaler of Bristol was fitted out for a cruise, and by 1837 its whaling fleet numbered nineteen ships.

As might have been expected from the maritime interests of this town, the hero of each of Professor Munro's three tales is a sea-captain. The first of them acquired his fortune in privateering, and it is one of his privateering exploits, directed in 1744 against a town of French Guiana, that is recounted in the form of a letter of a Jesuit missionary who was a victim of the raid.

The sea captain of the second tale began a seafaring life at thirteen, and at twenty-four was, in 1804, in command of a ship of two hundred and fifty tons' burden, sailing to the northwest coast of North America to collect furs for the China market. It is his own account of this enterprise full of various vicissitudes, including an overland journey of twenty-five hundred miles in Asiatic and European Russia which constitutes the second narrative.

The third hero was in 1821 elected to the United States Senate, but thirty-seven years earlier, at the age of twenty, he was captain of a small craft engaged in the African slave trade from which he accumulated a large fortune, which he augmented in the war of 1812 by his privateering enterprises. One of these ventures is the subject of the third tale reported in the words of the journal kept by the clerk of the captain of the privateer. The editing of these letters and ship's logs has been skillfully done, and the supplementing chapters are rich in explanation and comment. The tales do more than depict the history of an interesting old town; they throw vivid light on important aspects and periods of American history, and make a valuable contribution to our records of those times.

ALEXANDER, PHILIP T., editor. *The Earliest Voyages Round the World, 1519-1617*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916. Pp. xxiii, 216. 75 cents.

This volume of the "Cambridge Travel Books" from the Press of Cambridge University contains a condensation of Pigafetta's account of Magellan's voyage; Francis Pretty's accounts of Drake's most famous voyage, 1577 to 1580, and of Cavendish's first voyage, both taken from Hakluyt's "Principall Navigations," and an extract from the journal of Jacob Le Maire and William Schouten in which is reported their discovery of a "New Passage Into the Pacific by Cape Horn." A table of important dates in the history of discovery, an appendix of explanatory notes, and twenty maps and illustrations, most of them reproduced from the

manuscript sources, supplement these accounts. It constitutes a serviceable source-book for supplementary reading for high school pupils.

HIGGINBOTTOM, JAMES. *History Through Illustrations*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1917. Pp. 188. \$1.25.

This, by the headmaster of Churwell Council School, Morley, England, is a presentation of a scheme for teaching children the ancient history of the Orient, Greece and Rome, and of England to 1154 by means of blackboard sketches. Fifty-two pages of sketches in white against a black background illustrate the plan and depict facts of chronology, geography and especially habitations and structures, from the old stone age to medieval times, weapons, armor, furniture and domestic utensils, dress, industries and pastimes, ships, and various other products of handiwork. These are accompanied by explanations, and directions to the teacher respecting matters of emphasis, interpretation and use in general. The method is designed for pupils of the eighth grade and younger, and the book is for the teacher, to whom it offers practical suggestions of ways of making more frequent effective use of the blackboard in the history recitation.

WILLIAMS, L. F. RUSHBROOK. *Four Lectures on the Handling of Historical Material*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1917. Pp. x, 86. \$1.00.

These lectures were written for audiences consisting partly of students of Allahabad University in India and partly of the general public. Lecture I treats of "Official Documents;" Lecture II of "Non-official Documents;" Lecture III of "Pitfalls in the Path of the Historian," and Lecture IV is an application of the theory underlying the methods described to the solution of a particular problem, "Personality in History." According to the foreword these lectures were designed to give an audience unskilled in this sort of work some insight into the methods of modern historical investigation, and this design the author accomplished, though he has restricted himself to an incomplete treatment of his subject.

BEAZLEY, C. RAYMOND. *A Notebook of Medieval History, 323-1453*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1917. Pp. viii, 224. \$1.20.

This is an epitome of history resembling the familiar Ploetz, but restricted in range to the medieval times and organized not by nations, but by short periods, thus: "Period I. From the Adoption of Christianity by the Roman State to the Beginning of the Permanent Barbarian Invasions and Settlements ('Völkerwanderung'), 323-75 A. D.," "Period II. From the Beginning of the Permanent Barbarian Invasions to the Capture of Rome by the Goths, 375-410," etc. In each period the chronological outline is preceded by a statement of the "General Points" of it, and interspersed among the periods are four sections presenting "General Views of the State About 476" and 1000, 1303 and 1453. The work has been done in careful scholarly fashion, and the publishers have produced a good clear page by the use of several sorts of type, all large. Both table of contents and index are supplied. In respect of both the synchronistic and the consecutive aspects of chronology, the book furnishes much helpfulness to the student of this period.

"The Staying Power of Germany," by J. Lawrence Laughlin in the *March Scribner's*, gives some interesting inferences as to Germany's financial situation. The author states that Germany's question is not one of exhausted resources, but one of the will to sacrifice on the part of the civilians.

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- Gray, L. H., editor. *The mythology of all races*. Vol. 12, *Egyptian*, by W. Max Müller; *Indo-Chinese*, by Jas. G. Scott. Boston: M. Jones. 430 pp. (16¼ pp. bibls.). \$6.00.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

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